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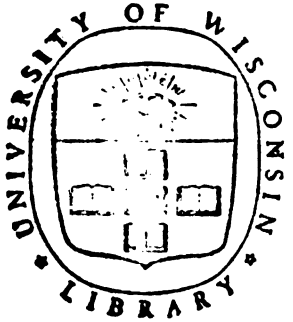

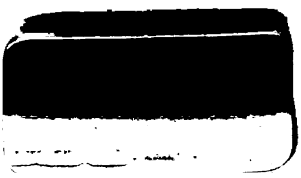

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MEMOIRS

OF

EARL ST. VINCENT.

VOL. I.

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MEMOIRS

OF

ADMIRAL THE RIGHT HON^R.

THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT,

(John Jervis) 1735-1823

G. C. B., &c.

BY

JEDEDIAH STEPHENS TUCKER, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
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1844.

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LONDON:
Printed by S. & J. BENTLEY, WILSON, and FLEY,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

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TO

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM PARKER, G.C.B.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FLEET IN INDIA AND CHINA,
ETC., ETC.

MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM,

Though every person, if his intentions are good, is sure to meet a kind judgment by you, nevertheless I avow that it is to conciliate a gentle criticism that I offer these volumes to your acceptance. You combine the most accurate recollections of Lord St. Vincent's professional and private character; you therefore will be most disappointed at this attempt to exhibit him.

How much I am indebted to your aid, what here is accurate will show; and that I have anywhere erred, is owing to your absence on service to your Country, in a career which so closely follows that of your great relative.

May health and happiness attend you, for laurels you do not lack, is the sincere wish of

My dear SIR WILLIAM,

Yours very faithfully,

J. S. TUCKER.

TREMATON CASTLE, 18th OCTOBER, 1843.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THAT a Civilian should presume to attempt to write the Memoirs of a Naval Officer, after his Biography had been published by a Member of his own Profession, requires explanation. A variety of reasons might be stated: one is sufficient. Some correspondence and information of various occurrences in Lord St. Vincent's life were possessed by the present writer; to which it was, by many competent opinions, thought that publicity ought to be given.

The Author's father having been Lord St. Vincent's Private Secretary for many years, had noted the leading transactions of his Patron's career, for the express purpose of writing his Life; and Lord St. Vincent was fully aware of the existence of these memoranda. In addition to these notes, much information has been also received from Lord St. Vincent's relatives and friends, which, with unfeigned gratitude, is acknowledged.

NOVEMBER, 1843.

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Fac-Simile of a Letter from Lord St Vincent to Benjn Tucker Esqr. (His Private Secretary.)

Dear Tucker

The conduct of Mr Grenville towards me, in every thing that relates to the encouragement of discipline, and the well doing of the Navy, surpasses any thing, I have ever witness'd

Yours Ever

St Vincent

Admiralty House
6th Novr 1806

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MEMOIRS

OF

EARL ST. VINCENT.

CHAPTER I.

Lineage and early education of Mr. Jervis. — Entry into the Navy.—Serves in the West Indies. — Promoted, and serves under Captain Saunders. — Action in the Experiment with a Xebeque.—Serves in Canada with General Sir James Wolfe.— Enforces obedience in the Albany sloop. — Promoted to the rank of Post Captain.

It appears, by a memorandum which he left of his own age, that John Jervis, the second son of Swynfen Jervis, Esq., was born on the 20th January 1735. His ancestral families may be but briefly noticed, and merely to show that the sturdy vigour and manliness with which he was eminently gifted, characterised them also, and was almost a natural source of his extraction; for his must be a name which it would be least permissible to try to emblazon with lineal splendour, who, in reply to a request for such information, and that for the avowed purpose of Memoirs of himself, wrote: "They were

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all highly respectable, but *et genus et proavos*,* &c. — nearly all the Latin I now recollect — always struck my ear as the sound maxim for officers and statesmen:" and it is as of an officer and of a statesman that this attempt ought to present a history.

In the lineage of the Earl of St. Vincent, the families of the male line are those of Jervis and Swynfen; of the female, those of Parker and Turton.

The family of Jervis was very old in Staffordshire; and at so early a period as the reign of Edward III. possessed considerable estates at Shatcall, now Chat-kyll, near Meaford. The family of Swynfen also was ancient, and Worcestershire was its long abode. John Swynfen was a noted person in the reign of Charles I., during the Protectorate, and in the reign of Charles II. He several times sat for Tamworth. At first he was very busy among the Parliamentarians; but thinking Charles's concessions ample, he dissented from violent measures, and was turned out of the House by Oliver Cromwell. He was afterwards in Parliament during the reign of Charles II.; was joined with Mr. Hampden, grandson of the great John Hampden, and, with other members, to draw up the Bill of Exclusion, and is known to have refused a bribe of 1000*l.* from Lord Arlington, to join the King's party. His plainness of demeanour and conduct

* The well known passage in the Metamorphosis, which Mr. Dryden translates—

> " The deeds of long descended ancestors
> Are but by grace of imputation ours;
> Theirs in effect."

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gave him the name of Russet Coat. Sir John Turton, the son of William Turton, a sturdy opponent of Charles I., was first a puisne judge in the Court of Exchequer, and afterwards in the King's Bench, in the reign of William III.; in 1672 he married Anne, daughter of the brave Col. Samuel Moore of Linley, who made such a gallant defence of Hopton Castle in the Revolutionary war. It appears from a journal of the siege, in the colonel's own handwriting, that the castle, which was very disadvantageously situate in a valley, which the closely surrounding hills entirely commanded, was garrisoned at first by only sixteen men, while the assailing parliamentary force was 500 strong; that the besieged never exceeded the number of thirty-one, and yet, though continually assaulted and closely invested, that they held out for more than a month, and that, when at last hunger compelled surrender, all the survivors, except their brave leader, were put to death. Margaret Turton married George Parker, Esq., of Park Hall, in the county of Stafford; of their issue was a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Swynfen Jervis, Esq., the second son of John Jervis and Mary Swynfen, and a son, Thomas, afterwards the Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer.

The children of John Jervis and Mary Swynfen were —

1. William, who married Jane, the youngest daughter of Thomas Hatsell, Esq.

2. John, whose life is the subject of these memoirs.

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3. Elizabeth, married to the Rev. Edward Batwell.

4. Mary, married to William Henry Ricketts, Esq., of Longwood, in Hampshire, by whom she had issue—

1. William Henry, a captain in the Royal Navy, who was drowned off Ushant in January 1805.

2. Edward Jervis, the present Viscount St. Vincent.

3. Mary Ricketts, who married Captain Hon^ble^ William Carregie, afterwards Admiral the Earl of Northesk.

Captain William Henry Ricketts married the Lady Elizabeth Jane Lambert, by whom he had two daughters, 1. Martha Honora Georgina, the present Lady Jervis, who married Osborne Markham, Esq., by whom she had a son, since deceased, and a daughter. On the death of Mr. Markham, she married Lieut.-General Sir William Cockburn, since deceased; and she assumed the name of Jervis in compliance with directions in her great-uncle's will.

2. Henrietta Mary Elizabeth, who married Captain Edmund Palmer, R.N., since deceased, by whom she had eight children.

Edward Jervis Ricketts, the present Viscount St. Vincent, married, 1. Honourable Cassandra Twiselton, third daughter of Lord Saye and Sele. 2. Mary Anne, daughter of Thomas Hawe Parker, Esq., and grand-daughter of Chief Baron Parker.

The children of the Chief Baron, Sir Thomas Parker, by his first marriage, were—Thomas, who

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married Mary, the daughter of Thomas Hawe, of Walsall, Esq.; George, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of William Turton, Esq., and had issue —

1. Elizabeth, married to John Nuttall, Esq. 2. Frances. 3. Anne. 4. Martha. 5. Edward, a captain in the Royal Engineers, who fell in the battle of Orthes. 4. Rev. John, Rector of St. George Botolph, deceased 1812. 6. Thomas, who died 1816. 7. George, who died 1809. And, 8. William, the present Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, G.C.B. Naval Commander-in-chief in China and India.

By his second marriage, the Chief Baron had a daughter, Martha, who was married to John Jervis, whose life is now to be presented.

His primary education was at Burton upon Trent, at the free school there, and he has left mention of the choleric severity of the master, the Rev. Humphrey Jackson, and that his wife was a great shrew.

As minor incidents, when in the dawn of mighty lives, are proportionally attractive, it is worthy of mention, that it so happened that in the school-boy's thoughtless play at happy warfare, young Jervis, while yet in his "careless childhood," was, as if by oracular anticipation, and with good augury, consigned by his schoolfellows to that section of his country's politicians to which his manhood was destined to belong. In 1745, when "Charles marched into the heart of the kingdom without being joined by his friends or opposed by his

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enemies,"* all the boys at the school, excepting young Jervis and Dick Meux (afterwards the opulent brewer), wore plaid ribbons, sent to them from home, and they pelted their two constitutional play-mates, calling them "Whigs." It is also known, that young Jervis was reckoned the best Greek scholar in the school, and that therefore, when one Slade, a great London distiller, was desirous of ascertaining the proficiency of the boys, Jervis was selected to read a passage from Homer. He used in after-life to say, that "having been taught to 'sing out,' he made Slade exclaim, 'You speak as if you spake through a speaking-trumpet, sir;' but that this check effectually silenced the performer."

As would be likely, Mr. Jervis designed his son for that profession to which he belonged himself, and which so many successful members of his family had adorned; but in 1747, being appointed counsel to the Admiralty, and auditor of Greenwich Hospital, by removing his residence from Staffordshire to the scene of his duties, and placing his son John at Swinden's academy at Greenwich, he in all probability did that which changed the boy's career from that of the Bar to the Navy; for whether it were, as the young sailor used afterwards to say, owing to the sage advice of his father's coachman, one Pinkhorne, a servant probably hired in the town, who advocated the sea and condemned "all lawyers as rogues," or to the naval character of his new associates, among them Dicky, the father

* Mr. Gibbon.

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of Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, still the change seems mainly due to the father's appointment to Greenwich. But whatever was the happy star which thus early influenced the youth's destiny, it is most certain that the entry into the naval service was his own step, on his own resolution,—that it was entirely against his parents' wishes and consent,—and that the decision, and the pertinacity with which it was adhered to, were early exhibitions by the child of that energetic and firm mind, which mainly characterised the man.

At the close of 1747 young Jervis, determining to be a sailor, ran away from school. His friends made their best effort to induce him to return, but he was so firm in his choice that, finding opposition vain, they wisely bethought themselves how best they could launch him.

His entry into the navy was in January 1748. It appears by a letter from Lady Archibald Hamilton, that it was at Lady Burleigh's request that Commodore Townshend took the youth into the Gloucester, fifty guns; we collect, too, that the ship had then only begun to fit out, and was not ready for sea for several months; also, that Mr. Jervis's fortune not being large, twenty-pounds was all that he could afford for the equipment of his little sailor-boy, and to furnish his pocket besides.

In August the Gloucester sailed from Portsmouth to the West Indies; and now young Jervis, only a few months beyond the age of thirteen, was periled upon his own control.

Being a boy of a very active, lively mind, but

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at the same time quite aware of the rigid economy which it behoved him to observe, he soon found that to remain on board the Gloucester, a guard-ship in the harbour of Port Royal, was not the course for him to steer; that either the do-nothing uniformity of life on board was too uninstructive and dull, or the amusements on shore too dissipating and dear. He therefore always volunteered to be sent into whatever ship was going to sea, or by which anything of importance was to be done; and when unavoidably he was in port, he devoted his leisure to retirement, in which he studied, and with a surprising memory digested, whatever the station enabled him to get at, of all branches of professional and general knowledge.

Thus, in 1753, he is found on board the Sphinx, commanded by Captain Wheeler, and it is delightful to verify this narrative of the midshipman's praiseworthy habits and conduct by the boy's own account of himself while in that ship, to his sister Mary.

TO MISS MARY JERVIS.

Sphinx, April 12th, 1753.

MY DEAR SISTER,

There are many entertainments and public assemblies here, but they are rather above my sphere, many inconveniences and expenses attending them, so that my chief employ, when from my duty, is reading, studying navigation, and perusing my old letters, of which I have almost enough to make an octavo volume.

Yours, J. JERVIS.

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TO MISS MARY JERVIS.

Port Morant, May 14th, 1754.

DEAR SISTER,

I now sit down to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, but think it first necessary to make some apology for not answering it before, which I hope you will not impute to my neglect, or want of that regard due to so affectionate a sister, but rather to the ill-breeding of a sailor, from whom neither much, nor polite writing can be expected. We are now waiting his Excellency, Mr. Knowles, who is at the Jamaica bath, with all the people of any distinction in the island, who resort there for the benefit of the waters. I should visit it myself, were it not so prodigiously expensive; pleasures here are so dear-bought that I seldom or ever partake of any. Yours, J. JERVIS.

That such firmness in the resistance of pleasure, and in the rescue of valuable time from indolence and dissipation, such diligence in application, and ardour in his profession, betokened the courageous mind and accomplished understanding which afterwards beheld the possessor adorned with laurels and honours, martial and civil, is the encouragement with which Virtue rewards her faithful votaries, and by example "invites her young pursuer;" but such voluntary mental achievements are of rare occurrence among youths, and are here well worthy the observation of those who would watch the progress of this already remarkable boy.

Young Jervis served in the West Indies from 1748 to 1754; and it will be readily imagined that scarcely any economy could have enabled a young gentleman, living and associating with youths of

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the same class, to manage that the 20*l.*, which in January 1748 he received from his father, should suffice for his pecuniary wants, even if the boy had been aware, which Jervis was not, that not a farthing more would he obtain. Yet it is no less certain, that this 20*l.* was all he ever did receive, not only for his first fit-out, but for all his subsequent expenditure during that whole period. When he had been some time — it is believed three years — on his station, cash being all gone, he drew upon his father for 20*l.* more; but his bill was returned dishonoured! and never afterwards had he the least pecuniary assistance from any one.

Into the motives which could have induced the parent to reject his admirably conducted son's moderate application, it is not presumed to inquire: the consequences of it to the young midshipman, however, were, deep mortification of feeling, and severe pecuniary distress. But that which straitened the boy, was of the greatest help to form the man. It thrust upon him that invaluable advantage, an acquaintance with poverty,—it kindled a lofty spirit of independence, which never afterwards was quenched; it first taught him to rely upon himself, and how securely he might do so; it originated in him that confidence in his own resources, which in the constantly occurring emergencies of his eventful life was one of his chief superiorities among men.

To take up the returned bill he was obliged to effect his discharge from one ship into another, so as to obtain his pay tickets, which he contrived

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to sell at 40*l.* per cent. discount; and during the remainder of the six years that he was upon that station his life was one continued endurance of pinching privation. He sold all his own bedding, and slept on the bare deck; he was usually obliged to make and mend, always to wash, his own clothes; he never afforded himself any fresh meat, nor, even in the West Indies, where they are so necessary for health, and so cheap too, any fruit or vegetables but what he could obtain from the negroes in barter for the little of the ship's provisions which he, a growing boy, might contrive to save out of his allowance.

Not having now a farthing of money to spend on shore, he was still more alert to volunteer into ships ordered to sea; and in one of these cruizers it was that, in the cable tier, an old quarter-master, named Drysdale, who had been mate of a merchant vessel, afforded the midshipman the only assistance he ever received towards the perfect acquirement which he accomplished of navigation.

In the autumn of 1754 Mr. Jervis returned in the Sphinx to England; and when she was shortly afterwards paid off, he was transferred to the William and Mary yacht, in which he completed the few months of service which he required for the rank of lieutenant.

As yet Mr. Jervis had not seen service in war; but the excellent peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was now well nigh broken; although the King's speech, in November, did not announce actual hostilities with France, it had, from the close of 1752, been clear

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that the questionable conduct of the French in the East Indies and America could lead to no other result. Both the rival courts now bethought themselves of rapidly making the best continental alliances which the moment permitted; and in England, notwithstanding the distraction of the cabinet, and the fierce contention of political factions, the unanimity with which all the forces and supplies were voted, plainly manifested that whichever party succeeded, determined resistance to the encroachments of France would be the leading feature of its foreign policy.

A powerful fleet, destined to oppose that collected at Brest for the American coast, was fitted out; and Lord Anson, a near connexion of Mr. Jervis, took the command. In the mean time, Mr. Jervis had passed his examination for the rank of lieutenant, and with great credit. Soon afterwards he received his commission, and in January was ordered to Chatham, to assist in fitting out the Prince, 90, which was intended for Lord Anson's flag. The Prince was commanded by Captain Saunders, and thus far to remind the reader of Lord Orford's description of that distinguished officer, as "the pattern of most steady bravery, combined with most unaffected modesty," is due to Mr. Jervis, because, though he was now but a very short time under his captain's notice, yet he at once established himself high in his opinion, earning that highest of approbation, "the approbation of the praiseworthy." In February 1755 Mr. Jervis was appointed the junior lieutenant of the Royal

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George; in March he was transferred to the Nottingham.

By February the Admiralty, under Lord Anson's administration of it, had prepared a fleet of thirty sail of the line ready for sea. But George II., who always permitted his Electorate of Hanover to fetter and denationalize his conduct as King of England, despatched Lord Hertford to Paris, as a *dernier ressort*, to preserve the peace. This retarded the departure of the British fleet. However, the haughtiness of the French demands, with respect to the forts on the Ohio, arrested Lord Hertford's journey;—information of the force collected in the Isle of Rhee was followed by issue of letters of marque and reprisals, by England; and when the enemy's fleet sailed, Admiral Boscawen was despatched from Portsmouth in pursuit of them.

The advantages which that great sea-officer gained over his opponent appertain to the history of the war in America; they no further belong to this biography than that the Nottingham was one of the fleet.

Thus, also, our reverses in America under Bradock, which the courage of the Militia-Colonel Johnson retrieved, in character only; the sickly state in which Admiral Boscawen's fleet returned; the afflicting occurrences connected with Admiral Byng's command in the Mediterranean, and the loss of Minorca, are incidents well known in our national misfortunes, of which it is only so far necessary to invite recollection as that when Sir Edward Hawke was sent out to repair our Mediter-

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ranean disasters, so essential was it thought that Captain Saunders should be the second in command, that a promotion was made to enable him to hoist his flag. But that impression on Admiral Saunders' good opinion had Lieutenant Jervis made, that he at once, and without soliciting it, was selected by the Admiral for one of his followers. In March 1756, when the Dorchester was attached to the Mediterranean fleet, Lieutenant Jervis was appointed to her; soon afterwards he was removed to the Prince, in which Admiral Saunders' flag then flew; and when he next year shifted it to the Culloden, he took Mr. Jervis with him as his second lieutenant.

The naval occurrences of the year in the Mediterranean were not very important; but the illness of Captain Strachan, who commanded the Experiment, a small sloop, placed Lieutenant Jervis, for the first time, in command of a ship, and an opportunity offering of exhibiting himself, the earnest which he gave of what the navy might anticipate from its rising officer was promising.

Soon after he was appointed to supply Captain Strachan's place, Lieutenant Jervis was ordered to cruize off the coast of Catalonia. On the afternoon of the 17th March, as the Experiment was standing on her course, a French privateer Xebeque was discovered. Several shot were fired to bring her to, and chase was made. The Xebeque hoisted Moorish colours, and stood away; and as she was the largest and most powerfully armed vessel, so she also was so far the fastest sailer, that in the evening, it

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being evident that there was no chance of overtaking her, the chase was discontinued, and the Experiment again stood on towards her station. The Xebeque misinterpreting this, made sail for the Experiment, and at half-past seven was within range of her guns. Action immediately commenced, and continued till ten, when the Xebeque again made off. The Experiment immediately spread all sail in chase, but in vain; the enemy was not to be overtaken. In the action, the Experiment had a midshipman killed, and several persons wounded; the sloop herself was also much damaged; her hull and rigging, and her main-mast were shot through in several places. The chase was continued through the night, and on the following morning the Xebeque was not to be seen; and as it then blew very hard, and the brig's masts and spars were much wounded, sail was shortened. At ten, the Xebeque again appeared; the Experiment swayed up her main yard, shook out her reefs, and again made chase. During the first part of the day, the wind was very fresh, in the afternoon it increased to a hard gale. The Xebeque now had much the advantage in speed, and was seen to go through the Gut. Lieutenant Jervis, therefore, discontinued his hopeless pursuit, and returned to Gibraltar, to get a new main-mast and repair damages.

Mr. Jervis's next services were during that brilliant period known as the era of Mr. Pitt's administration; and among the triumphs which crowned that mighty minister's exertions to rally the fame and fortunes of his country, it is legitimately within

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the scope of this narrative, to indulge in a transient recurrence to that of the expedition against the French possessions in America; because the officer whose life is now related, personally rendered essential service in the naval co-operation; he was, moreover, intimately associated during the campaign with the great hero of it.

The expedition being determined upon, and the most perilous portion, that to attack Quebec, assigned to Sir James Wolfe, the command of the naval force was entrusted to Sir Charles Saunders, who was for this express purpose recalled from the Mediterranean.

Mr. Jervis was selected by the admiral to be the first lieutenant of the Prince, which was again to bear his flag. On the passage out, the commander-in-chief of the division against Quebec, and his aide-de-camp, Captain, afterwards the celebrated Colonel Barré, were among Sir Charles Saunders' guests in the flag-ship, and of course her first lieutenant was much in their society. With Sir James Wolfe, indeed, Mr. Jervis had been at school, at, it is believed, Greenwich, where he had formed the generous acquaintance of youthful hours; but to Captain Barré he was an hitherto entire stranger. That strength of affection and confidence did he win from Sir James, that, when on the eve of battle, that gallant young hero sought for a friend to whom he might unbosom the fondest secret of his heart, Mr. Jervis was the chosen depositary; and with Colonel Barré, though he soon outshone him in worldly rank, it

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will be seen, he nevertheless preserved to the last firm unaltered friendship.

In February 1759 the fleet sailed from England. They first proceeded to Louisburgh; but in June the ice had sufficiently broken up to permit the forces against Quebec to proceed to the mouths of the St. Lawrence. By this time Sir Charles Saunders had appointed Mr. Jervis to be the commander of the Porcupine sloop, and owing to his constant alertness on service, he was selected for an opportunity of affording material assistance to the operations of the army.

Sir James Wolfe decided on assaulting the city from the steep banks of the river, in preference to investing it by land; while, to meet his attack, the French, in very superior numbers, and commanded by the great experience and gallantry of Montcalm, had posted a large division of their forces above the falls of Montmorenci: and, besides the fortress of Quebec itself, had batteries on both sides commanding the whole breadth of the St. Lawrence. From Sir James Wolfe's letters to Mr. Pitt, we learn what difficulties the General anticipated in the navigation of this river, "of the aversion against it conceived by the marine of this country, and that any accident there would be of serious importance," *—considerations to which it is due to Commander Jervis to advert here, because in July, when the General requested a naval force to escort his transports with troops past the city of Quebec, Sir Charles Saunders ordered the Porcupine to lead.

* Lord Chatham's Correspondence, vol. i.

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The service was so very important that the General himself embarked in the leading ship; and to ensure success, as there was but little knowledge of the river, Mr. Cook, then the master of the fleet, afterwards the celebrated navigator, together with the master of the Stirling Castle, had been sent the day previous to sound the channel; but, being attacked by some Indians, they were obliged to retire hastily, and the passage was quite unexplored. The station to which the Porcupine was to lead was a little below the falls, but at the moment of her arrival close under the guns of Quebec, it fell a dead calm; and the stream of the river, which is there exceedingly strong, set the ship rapidly towards the flats, and within reach of the guns of the battery of Fort Louis also. No sooner was the helplessness of the Porcupine perceived by the enemy, than they opened fire upon her from both sides, and she was in imminent danger of being destroyed in the face of the British army; and thus—for it was known too that the General was in her—a fearful damp would be thrown over the whole expedition. But in a moment Commander Jervis saw what alone was to be done. Quickly unstowing his booms, he got a few ships' oars out, hoisted out his boats to tow, cheered his men through the fire, and the ship was brought to her station; and as this happened at low water, it enabled him to well observe the channel, and thus greatly facilitate the transports in slipping by the forts.

Thus the troops were conducted to a landing-place. And with this occurrence all reference to the

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Canadian warfare ought to terminate in these pages; for here Commander Jervis' participation ceased. Every one knows how gloomy our prospects were before the battle of Abraham and capture of Quebec, and that even Wolfe determined upon that assault as the dernier chance of success. "In England," says Lord Orford, "the people despaired, they triumphed, they wept; for Wolfe had fallen in the hour of victory; joy, grief, curiosity, astonishment, were painted in every countenance; the more they inquired, the higher their admiration rose; not an incident but was heroic and affecting." There still, however, does one incident remain, which, it is believed, is not yet generally known, and which, as Commander Jervis participated in it, should be related.

On the night previous to the battle, after all the orders for the assault were given, Sir James Wolfe requested a private interview with his friend; at which, saying that he had the strongest presentiment that he should be killed in the fight of the morrow, but he was sure he should die on the field of glory, Sir James unbuttoned his waistcoat, and taking from his bosom the miniature of a young lady, with whose heart his own "blended," he delivered it to Commander Jervis, entreating, that if the foreboding came to pass, he would himself return it to her on his arrival in England. Wolfe's presages were too completely fulfilled, and Commander Jervis had the most painful duty of delivering the pledge to Miss Lowther.

Immediately after the capture of Quebec Com-

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mander Jervis was despatched to England, and soon after his arrival was appointed to the Scorpion, and sent to New York, with very important despatches to General Amherst.

When he left Spithead it was blowing a gale of wind; and the sloop, an old and leaky vessel, which shortly after foundered at sea, then made so much water that the commander was obliged to put into Plymouth. There he represented the importance of his despatches to the port-admiral, who ordered him to proceed instantly in the Albany, a sloop in the Sound; and so urgently was his immediate departure pressed, that it was with great difficulty that he obtained permission and time to take his own boat's crew out of the Scorpion.

But it so happened that the Albany had been a long while in commission, and that a considerable arrear of pay was due to her people; who, moreover, having never been otherwise employed than in short convoys coastwise, did not relish this sudden call to such distant service; and when Commander Jervis, on his first step on board the sloop, gave the order to get the ship under weigh, the crew absolutely refused to heave the anchor, rushed aft in a body to the quarter-deck, and there vociferously announced their refractory resolution. With this insubordination, the commander at first attempted a short remonstrance; but soon finding that useless, he restored discipline by a far different mode of persuasion. He ordered his boat's crew from the Scorpion to take their hatchets and cut the cables, and then sent them aloft to loosen the

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foresail. This was sufficient. Perceiving the sort of man who now had come on board to command them, the Albany's people at once submitted; and the ship proceeded. The ringleaders of disobedience were punished with great severity; and in the progressive developement of his professional character Commander Jervis, in this brief moment, has exhibited this further ingredient, well worthy attention, that he would vigorously uphold lawful authority. Mutiny may be, from henceforth, warned never again to rear its crest against this officer, if it hopes to be tamely confronted.

The Albany made New York in twenty-four days. The commander delivered his despatches, and, according to his orders, prepared to return to England, where he was very desirous to be, because Admiral Saunders, on his appointment to the Mediterranean, had nominated him as his captain; but unpleasant intelligence of an irruption of Indians, and of other circumstances, requiring an augmentation of force to be sent to General Amherst, compelled the employment of the Albany in that service; and when, after conveying the troops, Commander Jervis arrived in England, he had the mortification to find that he had lost his chance of promotion; for in his absence, so much longer than was expected, Admiral Saunders had been obliged to select another captain. The Albany was next placed under the command of Admiral Rodney, and was in the attack on the gun-boats at Havre in France. In October 1761, Commander Jervis was promoted to post-rank into the Gosport, 60; his services were chiefly in convoy-

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ing trade to and from the Baltic.* Among the midshipmen who while this captain commanded the Gosport, entered the service under his auspices, was the afterwards Admiral Lord Keith.

In 1762 Lord Bute, having gained the ascendancy over George III., Mr. Pitt and the Whigs retired; and at the peace, which, in the words of Cardinal Algerotti, "England having fought like a lion, concluded like a lamb," the Gosport was, in 1763, paid off, and Captain Jervis did not serve again till 1769.

* It is rather curious, that on the last voyage to England, and when about twenty leagues from land, he was one day, while dressing, so sensible of a severe shock on the ship that he concluded she had struck, and hastening to the quarter-deck, he gave orders to heave the lead; but the master of a merchantman in company hailed him that he had felt a sensation which could be attributed only to an earthquake, which the next account from Lisbon confirmed, one actually happening there at the same time.

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CHAPTER II.

Captain Jervis appointed to the Alarm frigate.—Exacts redress for an insult to the Flag, and liberates two Turkish slaves at Genoa.—Shipwrecked in the Bay of Marseilles.—Ordered to attend H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester during his tour in Italy. —Paid off.—Travels on the Continent.

It appears by her log, that Captain Jervis commissioned the Alarm, 32, in February 1769; that she was then in dock at Woolwich; that she did not sail to her station, the Mediterranean, till May; and that he continued in command of her till the close of 1772.

England being at peace during the whole period, neither the times nor station would be such, as in their usual occurrences offer opportunities of exhibiting character, or of realizing expectations; and it would not derogate from the reputation of any captain of a frigate to say, that a few sentences would suffice to relate the whole of such a command. But Captain Jervis' services there had less than the usual barrenness of incident. He was himself become an officer of that stamp that the spectator could at all times trace him everywhere, clearly distinguishing the striking features of the same individual; and it will be so now, when he is

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to be seen carrying on the accustomed duties of the usual service, or in arduous and trying circumstances, or deeply dipping in the cup of pleasure; the varying hues which each change of scene threw upon the object, only served to identify it as of one and the same nature; the observation at each ordeal, to verify his rising reputation as an efficient officer and an accomplished gentleman.

After she reached the Mediterranean, the Alarm was employed to the end of the year in cruising, and visiting the various ports, and September found her at Genoa.

One Sunday afternoon, the day after her arrival, two Turkish slaves, in enjoyment of their only comfort, the holy day's rest from labour, sauntered from their galley near the Mole. Espying the Alarm's boat, they jumped into her stern sheets, enfolded themselves within the British colours, and then exclaimed "We are free!" Hearing that, the Genoese officer on duty there, ordered them to be forcibly taken from their refuge; and they were dragged out, though one of them in his struggles tore away a piece of the boat's pendant, and then were re-committed to the chains of bondage. But when his officer reported all this to Captain Jervis, he at once decided that it was an insult to the British flag, and an outrageous enforcement of slavery, which he could by no means pass over; and that for each injury a distinct reparation being due, it should be made respectively.

"Accordingly," to use his own language, "I demanded of the Doge and senate, that both the

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slaves should be brought on board, with the part of the torn pendant which the slave carried off with him, the officer of the guard punished, and an apology made on the quarter-deck of the Alarm, under the king's colours, for the outrage offered to the British nation."

On the following Tuesday this was literally complied with; the offending officer came degraded, and formally made his apology, on the frigate's quarter-deck, before all her officers and ship's company; and the slaves also were brought on board, the one bringing with him the piece of the torn colours, to which he clung for protection, and were restored to freedom. "After all this was done," continued their liberator, "I asked the slave who had wrapped the pendant round his body, what were his sensations when the guard tore him from the pendant-staff. His reply was, 'that he felt no dread, for he knew that the touch of the royal colours gave him freedom.'"

But it would seem that the British Admiralty of that day did not encourage such a vigorous support of freedom, and of the honour of the national flag; for a short time after, Captain Jervis thus addressed his brother: "I had an opportunity of carrying the British flag, in relation to two Turkish slaves, as high as Blake had ever done, for which I am *publicly* censured, though I hope we have too much virtue left, for me not to be justified in *private*." Yet, whatever were the views in which this assertion of his flag's and liberty's right, was, of necessity, held by his government: the effect of it

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in the Barbary States for many years afterwards was, that if a slave could but touch the British colours, which all our men-of-wars' boats carry in foreign ports, he could of right demand his release; wherefore the practice was to refuse the least relaxation from the chain while a British man-of-war continued in the harbour.

Now, this energetic conduct, the whole character of which is unequivocal, by Captain Jervis, is more valuable, because it so unquestionably bears upon the line of conduct which, in senatorial life, he afterwards exhibited on that difficult question of practical policy, the abolition of the Slave Trade; a question, whether of justice and of humanity, of constitutional theory, or of state necessity, on which far mightier, and more extensive consequences were perilled, and still hang, than almost any other ever deliberated in our parliament.

In this Biography it is not intended to indulge in any political observations which justice to the subject does not render absolutely unavoidable. Moreover, the abolition of Negro slavery, though it is the immortal glory of the Whigs, yet, as a state question, has been in less connexion with party-strife than from its magnitude could have been anticipated. But it is one on which the personage of these Memoirs has been much misrepresented, or much misunderstood. Misrepresented, if said to be one of those who were "insensible to the miseries, or indifferent to the liberty of a great portion of their fellow creatures;" misunderstood, when said to be opposed to enlightened and judi-

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cious measures, based upon moral and expedient foundations. And that, to the inference proposed to be drawn from the emancipation at Genoa, it may not be replied, that the hero of it was only one of those who would "expend thousands, throw all Europe into arms, and sacrifice a sea of blood, because an Algerine armed, carried off a few Christians into slavery, while the same advocate for liberty would treat that of myriads of Negroes as wholly imaginary, and of no moment." By anticipation, it may be premised that, if patience can arrive at that part of this officer's life, it will perceive that, though in utter aversion to sentimental cant and sonorous philanthropy, he certainly did oppose all the modes of abolishing Negro slavery which were presented to him: yet that it was only because they, in his honest opinion, were crude and ill-conceived, for either bettering the condition of the Negroes, or for the advancement of liberty. "Take care," he frequently used to say, "take care that you do not hand them over to worse masters." Nor is there any hesitation to cite for Captain Jervis, the character in which the biographer depicts Blake,* whose example he prided himself in following: "He was jealous of the liberty of the subject and of the glory of his nation."

The Alarm continued her cruises through a severe winter and a tempestuous spring; and in March 1770, when the equinoctial gales came on, she was at anchor in the port of Marseilles. On the 26th it blew so hard, and the ship laboured

* Dr. Johnson.

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so much, that it was necessary to throw many of her guns overboard; the next morning it somewhat moderated, and Captain Jervis intended to get under-weigh for Minorca: but in the afternoon, with a sudden change, the wind violently increased, and on the following night it blew a hurricane, which drove the frigate from her anchors, all of them let go in vain, and stranded her, a helpless wreck, on a reef of rocks, where no exertion of Captain Jervis, nor of those he commanded, could have preserved her and all on board from destruction, had not fortunate and humane assistance been received from the French.

It is proposed to recount these occurrences by extracts from the frigate's Log; because, conscious as the writer is of the misfortune which it is to a sea officer that any part of his career should be told by such an inefficient pen, and a civilian's too; upon no occasion is this more perceptible than in the attempt to relate naval matters in nautical phraseology.

Proceedings of H.M.S. Alarm, moored in the Bay of Marseilles.

March 1770, Friday, 30th. Moored in Marseilles Bay. Wind E.S.E. N.N.W. W.S.W. N. by E. N.N.W.

Hard gales and squally weather. P. M. long-boat watering. At six swayed up topmasts and top-gallant-masts and yards, set up rigging. At seven, loosed the foretopsail, fired a gun for a pilot, and cleared hawse.

At eight the pilot came on board, began to unmoor. The captain went on shore to pay a visit to the Commandant of the Marine. Half-past stowed the small bower, and got

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the sheet anchor on the gunwale, while the messenger was shifting for the best bower. In the meantime the wind freshened suddenly and violently. The pilot ordered the yards and topmast to be struck, and while everybody was employed in making the ship snug and bitting the best bower cable, he made his escape quietly by the stern ladder into a small boat and went on shore. At nine the captain came off in the barge with the utmost difficulty and danger. Hoisted her in.

Got the top-gallant-masts, topsail, and cross-jack-yards down upon deck. Lower and spritsail yards fore and aft. Topmasts close down to the lower caps, rounded the second cable of the best bower, and veered it into the hawse, and got the sheet anchor over the side again all clear for letting go. At noon a great swell from the N.N.W.

Saturday 31st. Wind N.N.W. N. N.N.W. The first part hard gales and squally weather. Middle, a hurricane of wind. Latter, strong gales and hazy. Coiled the small bower cable between decks to enable us to let go the sheet anchor instantly, in case of accidents. The ship rolled considerably, but rode easy on her cable. Clapped mats and service on the shrouds and rigging to prevent chafing, and stationed the people by the anchors and cables with their hatchets.

At two, the wind increased to a most impetuous degree. The best bower parted. Let go the sheet anchor instantly, and on the ship's not bringing up, the small bower, but she would not look at them, till within influence of the surge of the Tête de Mort, where she brought up and struck violently from the fore part of the mizen chains aft.

Began to cut away the masts, and fired all the guns we could get at as signals of distress. The ship still striking, manned the pumps, and employed the rest of the people in clearing away the wreck. By the fall of the mainmast

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the cutter was stove to pieces and carried overboard with all her furniture, and the long-boat much shattered. At three A. M. the ship struck so hard that the rudder was forced from the stern, whereby the transom beam and counter timbers were broken, and the cabin torn up from the blow of the tiller, which also snapped in two.

Hitched the messenger to the sheet cable, and tried to heave the ship clear of the rock she struck on. Messenger broke: made a second attempt with the sheet cable. In vain; the wind and sea so violent, obliged to desist.

At day-light saw numbers of people on the rocks ready to assist in preserving us. Made many attempts to get a line on shore to them by a lead and veering buoys, but the return of the wind and sea from the rocks frustrated all. The ship now making as much water as the pumps would deliver, it became absolutely necessary to take a decisive step, when Jos. Smith, seaman, offered to attempt getting on shore with a line. At seven, launched a small boat overboard, and he and James Raside, a seaman, jumped into her.

Boat soon filled, and went to pieces; but they, by the utmost intrepidity, and assisted by the people on shore, did their work. Bent a hawser to the inner end of the line and the French hauled it on shore, and made it fast to a point of rock, by which we steadied the ship clear of the reef she beat on. At eight, Henry Wickens, a seaman, offered to swim on shore with a message to the British consul, which he performed, and, to his credit, and of the other two seamen, they came off again in the first boats.

People employed incessantly at the pumps to keep the ship above water—[then follows a list of articles and stores lost].

By the captain's written orders, began to serve a pint of wine every six hours to the ship's company.

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By such exertions, and with the assistance from the French, the port officer, M. Pleville de Peltier, being exceedingly active, and with the aid of hired British and foreign seamen, at the close of the day the frigate was so far rescued, that at least the lives of those on board were snatched from the grave which had yawned around them.

CAPTAIN JERVIS TO HIS FATHER.

Alarm, Marseilles, Sunday, April 1770.

Do not be alarmed, my dear Sir, at the newspaper accounts which you will read of the Alarm. The interposition of Divine Providence has most miraculously preserved her.

The same Providence will, I hope, give health and long life to my dear Father, Mother, and Brother. J. JERVIS.

By great toil, in many days of wretched weather, the ship was moored in safety, stripped, emptied, and hove down keel out; and, to enable the sailor to estimate the danger past, and the exertions and economy in her repairs, it is necessary to insert an enumeration of the damage which it appeared she had sustained.

The false keel all off, fore and aft. Twenty-eight feet of the main keel, from the port forward, entirely out, and the other parts bruised to the lower edge of the rabbets. All the gripe off. Eight feet and a half of the stern post gone, with all the dead wood. Of the garboard strake, twenty-two feet; second ditto, eighteen feet; third, fourteen feet; fourth, twelve feet; fifth, ten feet; sixth, clean carried away.

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The repairs were immediately taken in hand; and the very great assistance which M. Pleville de Peltier afforded Captain Jervis, from the hour of danger to the completion of the refit, was such, and he so warmly represented it to his Admiralty, that the English Government presented a handsome piece of plate to that hospitable and excellent officer.

CAPTAIN JERVIS TO HIS FATHER.

Alarm, Marseilles, April 12, 1770.

I HAVE the happiness to inform my dearest Father that my prospects brighten, and I hope to be at sea in a month.

I have had a severe lesson of submission to the Divine Will; gained some experience, and, I have the vanity to think, lost no reputation, although other loss I have sustained enough: but that is not to be named.

I feel for what my dearest parents must have suffered about their J. JERVIS.

CAPTAIN JERVIS TO HIS FATHER.

Alarm, May 11, 1770.

I HAVE the happiness to acquaint my dear Father, that one side of the Alarm is completely repaired, and we are setting about the other. I have received the most satisfactory letters from the Admiralty, public and private: a glorious action in the midst of a war could not be more applauded than the gallantry of the officers and crew for theirs; and the board is so good as to provide for the men I have pointed out as having distinguished themselves most. J. JERVIS.

CAPTAIN JERVIS TO HIS SISTER.

Alarm, June 8, 1770.

THANKS, my dear Sister, for your cordial of a letter. The only vacancy I felt in the most arduous task I ever yet

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saw, was the want of your remembrance. I have it now, and am happy—but worn down to the merest skeleton you ever saw. The ship is ready, but delayed by my complicated accounts. J. JERVIS.

As to the cause of the frigate's delay, the ascertaining and payment of the expense of her repairs: the sailor will now discern in the total amount, the proof of another and striking feature of this officer's character—a rigid economy with the public purse, when he learns that for the complete refit of such a sunken wreck, and all the expense of his crew three months ashore, the whole sum expended was only 1415*l.* And everybody can estimate the excellence of the discipline of the captain, who, though certainly through life he was severe in all his corrections, yet during his whole stay in that friendly port, wherein his men were in lodgings in a town where wine and spirits—the bane of the English sailor—were so cheap and plentiful, had occasion to punish only six men; and that, although he was frequently obliged to address to the British minister at Paris complaints of the continued efforts and bribes to entice his men to desert, yet when he sailed out of the port he did not leave a single man behind.

In July Captain Jervis informed his sister from Mahon: "The Alarm is the completest thing I ever saw on the water; insomuch that I have almost forgot she was the other day, in the opinion of most beholders, her own officers and crew not excepted, a miserable sunken wreck,—such is the

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reward of perseverance. Happily for my reputation, my health at that period happened to be equal to the task, or I had been lost for ever, instead of receiving continual marks of public and private approbation of my conduct; but this is *entre nous*— I never speak or write on the subject except to those I most love; you will easily believe Barrington to be one; his goodness to me is romantic."

In Mrs. Ricketts, whom he thus addressed, Captain Jervis found that invaluable friend, a sister of considerable talent and strong affection, to whom he could unbosom his inmost thoughts; and in the letter just quoted appeárs the disclosure of an attachment which, though it had now obtained entire possession of his heart, yet he was obliged to conceal till some years after. Mentioning the lady he afterwards married, he said: "Your sentiments of Miss Parker are exactly conformable to my own, founded on long observation, not blinded by passion; and, but for the insurmountable objects I before mentioned, I should on the first opportunity make the most unreserved proposals to her; but, situated as matters now are, the most distant hint cannot be given, lest it should tend to prevent some much better match she has just reason to expect, or embarrass her in other sort; neither of which are consistent with the value I have for her." Here, too, is found, for the first time, his mention of an officer of long standing in the service and considerable reputation, Captain Barrington, who, to the end of their lives was, among men, his dearest friend.

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The Alarm was shortly after ordered home. On his arrival at Leghorn, Captain Jervis was requested by the British minister at Turin to give an entertainment to the influential Duke de Chabelais, of which mention is made only to present the officer's notice of it to his father. An extract from a letter is:

"The introduction I gave all the officers of the Alarm to the Duke of Chabelais, caused H. R. H. to distinguish them, and to make handsome presents to the major part, which affords me more pleasure than if the attention had been conferred on me. I pride myself exceedingly in the presents being so diffused; on all former occasions they have centered in the captain."

The frigate reached Spithead in the spring, and remained there till the fall of the year. In the interim the captain presented himself to a welcome by his family and friends, after an absence not unfruitful in events. And it is to be perceived by his correspondence during his stay on shore, that in addition to the professional reputation which he had earned, he now was one whose society was courted in the highest circles of rank and elegance.

To his continually rising superiority it was attributable that—it happening at that period that the weak health of the Prince William Henry Duke of Gloucester requiring a winter's sojourn in Italy, and it being the King's Will that a frigate should convey his Royal Highness from port to port—the Alarm was ordered on that service.

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The selection itself is to be noted, because, advantageous as it always is to England for her diplomatic interferences, that the naval officers in the Mediterranean, of all stations, should unite courtliness of demeanour with professional efficiency, more especially was it so then, for the one who was to appear with a prince of the royal blood at every Italian court. For the officer and frigate for such service the Admiralty would search among the choicest.

Receiving the royal invalid at Nice at the close of the year, and continuing in constant attendance upon him till the following summer, Captain Jervis returned to England in June.

Over such entirely pleasurable employ a very transient glance will now suffice. The advantages under which the captain visited every court, and saw in his excursion all that was interesting in that enchanting country, were, of course, very great. The circles in society, as well of each State as of the English who crowded there, in which he moved, were of the highest quality. But such luxury did not enervate the moral energy of the individual it environed. From his then frequent letters to his kinsfolk it may be collected, that throughout such an expensive employ, "by great economy, his own pocket supported himself, and maintained his independence, though it was hard work," and "he could not afford to purchase anything" in that land of tempting curiosities and arts. But he so gained the esteem of his royal charge, and of those of his countrymen

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among whom he was there thrown, that he became their intimate friend and associate; while, by regularly communicating to his own family all his proceedings, he endeavoured, as far as he could, to participate with them his pleasures and increased personal consequence.

From such correspondence it does not seem necessary to present extracts; they would only be the happy letters about lovely Italy, from one thoroughly sensible of all her charms, and affectionately desirous of sharing his delights in them with the friends he addressed. But with such letters, or with the scenes themselves, every one now-a-days is familiar; and Captain Jervis' pen will hereafter exhibit itself on loftier themes, to which his naturally grave mind was better attuned. It nevertheless is due to him to say, that he gave frequent proof of his notice of the liberality and the religious tolerance of the Roman Catholics, and of the misrepresentations about them in England; and that upon no single occasion was an opportunity neglected of acquiring and noting professional information.

The Duke of Gloucester quitted the frigate in May, with a heart overflowing with thankfulness for the unalloyed pleasure which he had enjoyed on board. He was then ordered to England; but the Alarm did not take her final departure from the Mediterranean seas before returning to Marseilles, to present personally the token of gratitude which the English government offered to a gallant and hospitable French officer: Captain Jervis, as

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we learn from his letter to his father, "made the family of Pleville de Peltier happy beyond description."

In June the frigate was paid off; and, if the peace continued, Captain Jervis had not much likelihood of very soon again obtaining employ.

But the leisure of a rising officer is scarcely less worthy observation than his actual service; and the young aspirant to the eminence which this captain eventually attained, must not imagine that, whatever be his own genius and assiduity, an active and continual employ on the ocean will alone qualify him with the necessary accomplishments. To collect acquirements absolutely indispensable, which at sea are not to be found, the leisure of the half-pay is the desired opportunity, "His zealous application must therefore not abate, but only be engaged in fresh, though important duty, when he turns his back upon his ship towards the welcome of his family." So at least Captain Jervis thought, and wrote. From his earliest childhood he always remembered that "time is the stuff that life is made of;" * and now he at once studiously betook himself to the appropriate employment for a sailor on shore. He determined to accurately inform himself of the naval resources and maritime localities of those European powers which most attracted his own country's vigilance. But as he was aware that neither for profitable travelling, nor for the accomplishment of an officer and a gentleman, had his education sufficiently instructed him in the French language, he resolved first to master that, afterwards he would join his friend, Captain

* Franklin.

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Barrington, with whom he had engaged to inspect the European naval arsenals in the next summer.

Accordingly, he went to France, "placed himself in a *pension*, which he described as not the most agreeable, but the only sure way of arriving at any degree of proficiency in speaking the language," and hired a master. He studied so hard that his health failed; his mother and his brother intreated him to desist, and return to them, but his reply from Lyons was: "I feel very sensibly, my dear brother, the affectionate part you take relative to my health, and I should not hesitate a moment to obey the injunction of our dearest mother, and your request, if I were not so much recovered as I really am. You touch me in a very sensible part when you write of her indisposition, but I flatter myself you dwelt stronger on it, out of affection for me, than you would have done, in hope thereby to make me give up a pursuit I undertook upon the best view a military man, in my situation, could form; and, though I should not succeed according to my sanguine wishes and expectations, it will always be useful to have a general idea of this prevalent language, and a knowledge of the country we have so long contended with, and must ever be our rival in arms and commerce till we fall. I hope and believe that period is very distant; but summer approaches so fast, that I should be loth to give up what I have been at so much pains and inconvenience to acquire."

Shortly after, he wrote to his sister: "At first, by too close application, my health suffered to that de-

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gree that I was obliged to shake off every idea of French, and remain in a state of almost non-reflection for a month, but I am now quite well; I begin to take up the language at my ease, and intend paying off my master."

He then visited Paris, and all the principal manufacturing towns of France, reserving the naval ports for his subsequent inspection.

That the character of the French of that day was not congenial to his taste will be readily imagined; nor will there be any surprise, that, in his letters to his sister, his highly moral mind deprecates a foreign education for her daughters "as destructive of those excellences which so justly exalt our own countrywomen above those of all other nations;" and that he complained of the Frenchmen of that day, of "their unmanly vices, their trifling folly, and dissipations;" while the lamentably careless manner in which so many of our own countrymen run over the Continent did not escape his censure: "Flocks pass me daily," he wrote, "post-haste after the bubble pleasure; the further they travel the greater distance they find themselves from it"—paragraphs selected merely to identify the same manliness of mind.

Having acquired French, Captain Jervis returned to England in November; and in the following summer he went with Captain Barrington to St. Petersburgh.

They sailed from London in a merchant-trader, and reached Cronstadt in August. That while at sea Captain Jervis kept a regular log, will be expected only as a matter of course from him; he

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also noted minutely all their proceedings on shore. As these memoranda were written for his own use only, and not for either the amusement or instruction of others, only such few extracts will be offered as suffice to show the searching, investigating mind of the traveller, his keen perception of the shades of national and individual character, and, above all, how constantly the pursuit of the knowledge indispensable to the career of his ambition was uppermost in his thoughts. During the voyage, and whole excursion, all the headlands are described; all the soundings noted; and it is clear that no opportunity of making others to test or to correct his own charts was omitted. Thus it is remarked, "that the castle of Cronenburgh, which guards the entrance into the Sound, may be overlooked by a line-of-battle-ship, which may anchor in good ground as near the beach as she chooses." That there are two channels leading to Copenhagen, the first called the Royal, on starboard-side of the first or northernmost buoy, the other a narrow one, used only by small vessels, between the second and third buoy; that in the northern channel, where Faster Born Church bears N. E. by E., you may haul up E. S. E., or higher if you will, but that it is advisable to keep your lead going." All the many, and then new, light-houses are very carefully placed on his own chart; and the approaches to St. Petersburgh laid down accurately; and because, "I find all the charts are incorrect, and it may be useful." *

* If the young first-class volunteer will pardon the liberty of a hint, that he should never neglect such opportunities, which in

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Captain Jervis's sojourn at St. Petersburgh was one month, and it was at a period when that phenomenon of talented character and repulsive contrasts, the Empress Catherine, was in the full zenith of power and display, exhibiting, both at home and as a conqueror, an energy and ambitious patriotism worthy the successor of the great Peter; a libertinism that quite rivalled her idol, the French school; a love for learning and science infinitely beyond the age of the country in which she lived, and a scepticism which out-doubted her correspondent Voltaire. The sway, if indeed the influence which any favourite exercised over her amounted to sway, of Count Gregory Orloff, was on the wane; and to make undisturbed room for Potemkin, it had been intimated to Orloff, that he was not permitted to decline a magnificent appointment, which, as a reward from gratitude, awaited his retirement to a great distance from Petersburgh. Orloff had not, indeed, yet departed on his exile; but Potemkin's star and prowess were predominant; and both these remarkable persons, together with the scientific Stehlin, the skilful old warrior Romanzoff, and the dashing young Repnin, were at the court when Captain Jervis reached the capital.

his, the most uncertain of all lives, may never recur, before the loss of the knowledge they would have afforded is bitterly regretted, the advantage of alert observation may be exemplified in Captain Jervis. During this excursion he acquired of some soundings a knowledge he never had a chance of refreshing; but when he was at the head of his profession he found it of great value, in the orders which, while his colleagues hesitated, he confidently gave to Sir Charles Pole, when commanding the Baltic fleet.

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Shortly after he arrived a Te Deum was chanted, with all the splendour which Russian pageantry of that day could give, to celebrate the glorious peace which Catherine had just concluded; this of course he attended, and the drawing-room afterwards. Though it is hardly fair on the writer of private memoranda and remarks to publish them, yet, as even a glimpse at this extraordinary woman, and those who surrounded her, bears with it its own interest, we may learn from Captain Jervis' pocket-book, that "when she entered the cathedral, Catherine mingled her salutations to the Saints and to the people, showing her decent compliance with religious ceremonial, and her attentions to her servants and the foreign ambassadors; but she showed no devotion, in which she was not singular, old people and Cossack officers excepted. During the sermon she took occasion to smile, and nod to those she meant to gratify; and surely no sovereign ever possessed the power of pleasing all within her eye to the degree she did. She was dressed in the Guards' uniform, which was a scarlet pelisse and a green silk robe, lapelled from top to bottom; her hair was combed neatly, and boxed *en militaire*, with a small cap, and a casket of diamonds in front; a blue ribbon, and the order of St. Andrew on her right shoulder, and the order of —(it is not mentioned)—on her right side."

"At the evening's drawing-room the men were, for the most part, heavy, and ill-looking; abject to their superiors, insolent to their inferiors; the uniform of the officers of rank being very rich, and profuse in orders, gave them, at first sight, an appear-

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ance of magnificence, which, on examination, they are not found to possess; for they have no dignity of character, and the men, constantly aping French manners, are exceedingly ennuyant.

"The female face and form extremely bad; their *aborde* gracious, the inclination of the body, which they substitute for the courtesy, being very becoming. The Empress excels in that salutation, adding dignity and grace. Orloff has an Herculean figure, finely proportioned, a cheerful eye, and, for a Russian, a good complexion. Potemkin has stature and shoulders, but is ill-limbed, and a most forbidding countenance."

Diligently inspecting Petersburgh, and as completely as permission allowed, Captain Jervis penetrated into a thorough insight of the naval resources of that formidable empire, collecting a store of knowledge, which equally proved how prudently he employed his opportunity, and how valuable such a travelling officer may become to his own country. The extent and capabilities of the naval arsenal, the number of docks and slips, their contents, the number and force of line-of-battle ships, whether in commission, built, or building, their age or progress towards readiness, their manner of construction, all is noted, and to the minutest degree; that the latest building "is well designed, but ill put together," and why; "that their fastenings are wretched;" so, too, the breastworks, standards, and hanging knees, all cut and spliced in variety of ways, and how; a ship with a cockpit and wings, "admirably disposed," and how, with a plan. The

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quantity of ordnance, as well as naval stores of every sort; the machines, and other apparatus of the yard, and a particularly minute description of the now well-known Russian and Dutch mode of transporting the hulls of the largest ships over the shoals outside the slips. But as this Memoir is of Captain Jervis, and not of Russia of that day, sufficient is extracted to show how he inspected her; there needs now no dilated statement of the progress she had then made towards her present very great naval influence.

Equally diligent occupation, and directed towards the same end, engaged him at Stockholm, Carlscrona, in the Swedish harbours, in Norway, and at Copenhagen.

A fraudulent claim having in later times been laid to the merit of the invention of our roof over a ship building, the following may be extracted from his notes in Norway: "The naval arsenals have sheds to cover the ships on the stocks, by which the timbers are protected from wet, and in some degree from miasma, without interrupting the necessary current of air."

That he exercised his own judgment on what was pointed out to him as worthy of admiration, may be inferred from his memorandum of the statue of Frederick V., which the India Company had lately erected at Copenhagen, and was boasted for his particular approbation. He mentions it as "a monument of their loyalty, profusion, or their *servility*," while a few other sentences, written on the same day, exhibit his nobler feelings. "We visited the prisons,

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where the prisoners, military and civil, are kept. The 'Repository' for slaves is loathsome to a degree; they are most of them deserters, some loaded with irons, according to their offences. Those who had a second time attempted to desert from their slavery chained to a wheel-barrow, each hand to a handle, which became their working companion by day, and only sleeping-place at night, death alone separating them. O! my soul sickened at this scene of despotism."

From Copenhagen Captain Jervis returned through Lubeck and Hamburgh, and then to Holland, making a similar inspection of all her naval and commercial towns, and thence to England.

The following year the two friends renewed their tour of inspection, and the ports of the western coast of France engaged their attention. With Havre Captain Jervis was already acquainted. Cherburgh had not yet risen to importance; and they first steered in a private yacht for Camaret Bay, and surveyed the roadsteads and creeks of the formidable Brest.* Then they visited Ports Louis and L'Orient, coasted "for pilot knowledge" through Quiberon Bay, and thence up to Bordeaux and Rochfort, making similar acquisition and memoranda of professional matters throughout the

* Let the value of opportunity be again remarked. An accident prevented these officers from accurately surveying the land approaches to the citadel of Brest. The chance never again returned to him whose career we follow, but the day was yet before him when he was to stand in the greatest need of that information, and when it could not be procured.

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French as in the northern ports. In the close of the autumn they returned to Plymouth; and, with one more observation, mention of their tour will cease. Let not the unemployed officer say such efforts in search of accomplishment can be made by only the wealthy. Captain Jervis had as yet made no prize money, and for these excursions he received no pecuniary assistance beyond his half pay. "To be sure," he in after days said, "we sometimes did fare rather roughly, but what signifies that now? my object was attained."

On his return to England, Captain Jervis found himself appointed to the Kent, 74; but before he joined her she unfortunately ran aground on the rocks off the Start, and was so damaged that it was necessary to pay her off. He was soon afterwards appointed to the Foudroyant, 84.

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CHAPTER III.

Captain Jervis appointed to the Foudroyant.—Is in the drawn battles with the French, off Ushant.—Admiral Keppel's Court Martial.—The Foudroyant in the fleet under Lord Barrington.—Capture of the Pégase.—The Foudroyant in Lord Howe's fleet at the relief of Gibraltar.

THE FOUDROYANT was taken from the French in 1758, and when Captain Jervis was appointed to her was the finest two-decked ship in the British navy. At first, she for a short time lay as guard-ship at Plymouth; then was employed in cruizing, and protecting convoys in the Bay of Biscay, or near England; but, in 1778, was annexed to the Channel fleet, under Admiral Keppel. Her excellent discipline and constant readiness for whatever service could be required from a fine and efficient two-decker, induced the admiral to select her for one of his seconds in the order of battle; and that was Captain Jervis' station, immediately astern of the commander-in-chief's ship, the Victory, on the 27th July, in the drawn battle off Ushant, with the French fleet, under M. d'Orvilliers.

To that battle, the public disappointment at the result, the recriminating correspondence between Admirals Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser, to the court-martial which ensued upon the commander-in-chief, all of them matters of familiar history, and

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which have lately been eloquently recorded by the Honourable and Reverend Augustus Keppel, it is unnecessary in these Memoirs to offer any allusion, except for the purpose of stating that, whatever difference of opinion arose on other points, all sides were eager to assert, that the Foudroyant's behaviour was as gallant as correct. Her captain's opinion on the points disputed must be introduced, but that will best appear in his evidence; of the satisfactory termination of the inquiry, how triumphantly honourable to the commander-in-chief, and how entirely in accordance with public opinion, the reader is presumed to be well-informed. Every one who has read that gallant admiral's defence, must have admired its lucid argument, and forcible simplicity of correct language, that was extolled by even Sir Hugh's warmest partisans; but few are aware that the excellences of its rhetoric and style were due to the intellectual powers and literary acquirements of Captain Jervis. For those advantages on his trial, Admiral Keppel, to whose truly noble character it is no derogation to say he did not command an accomplished pen, was indebted to his officer; and the officer, by this important assistance to his commander-in-chief, reaped the fruits of early and habitual study.

The court assembled at Portsmouth, and Captain Jervis, called by Admiral Keppel, was examined as follows:—

EVIDENCE GIVEN BY CAPTAIN JOHN JERVIS IN THE TRIAL OF ADMIRAL THE HON. AUGUSTUS KEPPEL.

1 *Q.* From my first seeing the French fleet to the time

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of their being brought to battle, did they show any intention of coming to action, or did they always avoid it?

A. On the 23d of July, in the afternoon, when the French fleet was first discovered by the English fleet, I did think they showed a disposition to give battle; from the 24th, in the morning, as soon as they discovered the force of the English fleet, I am convinced they never did design to give battle.

2 *Q.* Did I use my utmost endeavours, as an officer, to bring them to action, from the morning of the 24th till they were brought to action?

A. You used the most unremitting endeavours.

3 *Q.* Had you commanded a British fleet in the situation the French fleet was, with respect to the fleet under my command during the 24th, 25th, and 26th of July, would you have hesitated a moment to have led it down to battle, on account of the wind or weather, on any part of those days?

A. Any officer who had hesitated a moment would have been unworthy of command in the British fleet.

4 *Q.* Do you remember the signal being made early in the morning of the 27th July for several of the ships of the vice-admiral of the Blue's division to chase to windward?

A. I do.

5 *Q.* Was there at that time any greater indication of the French fleet's designing to come to action than on the preceding day?

A. There was not.

6 *Q.* What was the position of the vice-admiral of the Blue and his division at that time?

A. To the best of my recollection, the vice-admiral of the Blue in the Formidable, was on the lee-bow of the Foudroyant, at the distance of three miles and a half, or thereabouts.

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7 Q. What, in your judgment, was the object of that signal? and do you think it a proper one under the circumstances in which it was made?

A. I reflected on the signal when it was made, so that I have no sort of doubt in answering the question. I observed at the time that it must have been made to combine the division of the vice-admiral of the Blue with the centre division.

8 Q. What, in your opinion, would have been the consequence if I had formed the line of battle early in the morning, instead of bringing up the leewardmost ships by signal to chase?

A. I am clearly of opinion that you would not have brought the French fleet to action on that day.

9 Q. Did you see the French fleet upon the larboard-tack just before the action began?

A. I did.

10 Q. Was not our getting into action with the enemy very sudden and unexpected, from the shift of wind?

A. That was the principal event which produced it.

11 Q. What would have been the consequence if I had formed the line of battle at that time?

A. You would have given an opportunity for the enemy, when they were in great disorder, to have got into some form, and thereby subjected your fleet to an attack before it could have been got into order, or given the French time to escape out of gunshot if they had been disposed to do so.

12 Q. As I am charged with having advanced to the enemy, and made the signal for battle without having formed the line, I desire you will inform the Court if you think I was justifiable in doing so under the circumstances you have stated.

A. To the best of my judgment and ability, you certainly was.

13 Q. I am charged with having stood to a great dis-

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tance beyond the enemy, before I wore to stand towards them again—I desire to know if the fact be true?

A. It is not true.

14 *Q.* Did I make the signal for the line of battle as soon as I wore.

A. You did.

15 *Q.* Was that the properest signal I could make to collect the fleet together?

A. It was the properest signal, and the signal that required the most prompt obedience.

16 *Q.* I am charged with having shortened sail, instead of having advanced to the enemy. I desire you will acquaint the Court whether I had a sufficient force collected to admit of my advancing faster than I did.

A. To the best of my recollection, when I approached you on the larboard-tack, a little before three o'clock, you had not more than two or three ships near you of your own division: the rest were at a considerable distance astern.

17 *Q.* Had I at any time, while I stood on the larboard-tack, a sufficient force collected near me to renew the fight?

A. You had not.

18 *Q.* Did you see the French fleet wear, and begin to form the line on the larboard-tack?

A. I did.

19 *Q.* Had I at that time a sufficient force collected to prevent their forming?

A. You had not the means in any sort.

20 *Q.* I am charged with having wore at this time, and led the British fleet directly from the enemy. I desire you will explain this matter to the Court?

A. It appeared to me at the time that you had two great objects in view in wearing the British fleet and standing as you did; the first and principal, was to cover four or five disabled ships of your fleet in the S. S. E.; the other to give

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the opportunity to the vice-admiral of the Blue (Sir H. Palliser) and his division to form in their stations astern of you.

21 *Q.* Did I make every necessary signal to form the line, and to assemble the fleet on the starboard-tack?

A. I do not know a signal you could have made which you did not make to produce that effect.

22 *Q.* What sail did I carry during the afternoon?

A. To the best of my recollection, you carried your double-reefed topsails and foresail, the latter much shot, as well as the foretopsail.

23 *Q.* Was not the sail I carried necessary for the protection of the disabled ships, and could the degree of sail I did carry possibly have prevented the vice-admiral of the Blue from coming into the line?

A. The sail you carried appeared to me well-proportioned to effect both those purposes.

24 *Q.* Did not the sail I carried permit the French to range up with me under their topsails?

A. It did.

25 *Q.* Had this evolution, or my subsequent conduct, as you have stated it, the least appearance of a flight?

A. Very much otherwise.

26 *Q.* Could the French fleet have attacked the British fleet at any time they had thought proper during the afternoon?

A. They could, and at some periods of the afternoon with very great advantage.

27 *Q.* Where was your station in the line of battle ahead on the starboard-tack?

A. The next to, and astern of, the Victory.

28 *Q.* When did you get into it, and did you preserve it?

A. I got into it as you wore, at, or about three o'clock in the afternoon, and never was out of it till four o'clock the next morning.

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29 *Q.* Did you think I intended to renew the battle, if I could have formed the line?

A. I did: and as a proof it, I turned my people up, thinking it advisable to say a few animating words to them.

30 *Q.* What prevented my forming the line?

A. The vice-admiral of the Blue not leading his division down into his station.

31 *Q.* Was he in a situation to have led his division down into the line?

A. He appeared so to me.

32 *Q.* Did any thing appear to you to prevent his bearing down?

A. There was nothing visible to me, but a foretop-sail unbent.

33 *Q.* How long did you observe the Formidable's foretop-sail unbent?

A. To the best of my recollection, it was near four hours unbent; I cannot speak positively to time; it appeared to me the greatest part of the afternoon, after we were on the starboard tack.

34 *Q. By the Court.*—Could he have got into his station under his maintop-sail and fore-sail?

A. I believe he could.

35 *Q.* How many points might he have kept away?

A. About four points, I think; he appeared to me to be always in the wind's eye of his station.

36 *Q. By the Prisoner.*—Did the vice-admiral of the Blue ever make any signal to inform the admiral that he was disabled?

A. I never saw any such signal.

37 *Q.* Did you ever see him repeat the signal for the line of battle?

A. I did not.

38 *Q.* What sail did you carry on the night of the 27th to keep your station?

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A. We had double-reefed topsails, pretty much shot, so as to make it dangerous to hoist them taut up; I think there was a reef at least wanting of the hoist; and I do not recollect any other sail but a forestay-sail bent for a mizen; the maintop-sail was frequently aback, that we might keep astern of the Victory; and a very difficult operation it was to preserve that line.

39 *Q.* You have mentioned your forstay-sail bent for a mizen—was your mizen-mast damaged?

A. The mizen-mast head had been shot away just under the cap; the mizen-yard had been also shot away, that is to say, divided.

40 *Q.* Have you got the bearings and distance from Ushant on the 28th?

A. I cannot speak to them from memory; they are in the log-book, I believe (*referred to the log-book*); on the 28th, Ushant bore N. 79, E. 21 leagues, by the log, that day.

41. *Q.* Your station being nearest me during the pursuit of the enemy, and after the action, which gave you an opportunity of observing my conduct, and of seeing objects nearly in the same point of view with myself, I desire you will acquaint the Court of any instance, if you saw and know of any such, in which I negligently performed any part of my duty on the 27th and 28th of July.

A. With great respect to you, and great deference to the Court, I hope I shall be indulged by having that question put by the Court.

The question was altered, and put by the Court as follows:

42 *Q.* Your station being nearest the admiral during the pursuit of the enemy, and after the action, which gave you an opportunity of observing the admiral's conduct, and of seeing objects nearly in the same point of view with himself, acquaint the Court of any instance, if you saw any

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such, in which the admiral negligently performed any part of his duty on the 27th and 28th of July.

A. I feel myself bound by the oath I have taken to answer that question; I believe it to be consonant to the general practice of sea courts-martial. I cannot boast a long acquaintance with Admiral Keppel; I never had the honour to serve under him before; but I am happy in this opportunity to declare to this Court, and to the whole world, that, during the whole time the English fleet was in sight of the French fleet, he displayed the greatest naval skill and ability, and the boldest enterprise, on the 27th July, which, with the promptitude and obedience of Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Harland, will be subjects of my admiration and of my imitation as long as I live.

43 *Q. By the Court.*—Relate to the Court the defects of your masts, sails, and rigging, after you came out of action.

A. The main-mast had one shot very near through the head of it, between the catharpings and the hounds; it entered on the starboard side, and pierced one of the cheeks of the mast, went through the heart of the mast, and lodged in the other cheek; several other shot in the main-mast, but not of so much consequence as that I have mentioned. The foremast had two or three shots in it; the bowsprit had an excavation on the lower side of it—to the best of my recollection, about nine inches diameter of the lower side of the bowsprit shot away. The foretop-mast was so much wounded as to oblige us to reef it; the mizen-mast was totally disabled, which was of very little consequence to the Foudroyant; the running rigging was, I believe, every rope of it cut, some in two or three places; the shrouds were in a great measure demolished; there was no brace or bowline left in the ship—there was scarce a haulyard; the forestay, topmast-stays, and topmast-spring-stays, topsails, and haulyards; the sails were very much shattered, particularly the top-sails.

It being three o'clock, the Court adjourned till ten the

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next day, February 6, 1779, when the Court again met, and Captain Jervis's examination was proceeded with.

44 *Q. By Admiral Keppel.*—Did you see the French fleet on the 28th of July in the morning?

A. I did not see the French fleet; I saw three sail of the French fleet, and some time afterwards the man at the mast-head said he saw eight sail in the S.E.

45 *Q.* Did you see any signal made to chase the three French ships?

A. To the best of my recollection, I saw the signal made for three sail to chase to the N.E.

46 *Q.* Was your ship in a condition to have chased?

A. She was not.

47 *Q.* If I had chased towards Ushant, in the condition the fleet were in as to their masts and yards, from the action of the 27th, was there any probability of our coming up with the fleet of France before they reached the port of Brest?

A. There certainly was not the smallest probability.

The prisoner had no farther questions to ask of the witness.

48 *Q. By the Prosecutor.*—I think you said, on your examination yesterday, that on the morning of the 27th the French showed no more disposition for engaging than on the preceding days. I would ask, if that appeared so to you, why did you think it necessary to take seven of the vice-admiral of the Blue's division from him to combine them with the centre on that day any more than on any other day?

A. I have stated, in my answer to that question, that the vice-admiral of the Blue and his division were three miles and a half to leeward of the Foudroyant; which would give them, I believe, three miles to leeward of the Victory; they were under a very low sail, the Formidable with her main-sail up, and, to the best of my recollection, *going still farther to leeward;* and it was absolutely necessary, in my

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opinion, they should make sail to get to windward. I would add, that, in my judgment, and I believe I made an observation upon it at the time, the vice-admiral of the Blue accepted the meaning of the signal; for he certainly did make a considerable deal of sail very soon after those ships had made sail in obedience to the signal.

49 *Q.* If my memory does not deceive me, you alter your account of the position of the vice-admiral of the Blue *very different* from what you stated it yesterday. If I do not mistake, you then stated the Formidable was upon the Foudroyant's lee-bow three miles' distance; now you convey an idea of her being wholly to leeward, three miles' distance.

A. I do not mean to quibble about an idea, or to convey any thing that was not exactly so. When I said on the lee-bow, I did not say upon what point of the lee-bow; it is a very common expression; but, to the best of my judgment, I was very near the beam of the Victory; I was abaft the beam, but not much. I do not mean, I am sure, to take any advantage of you, or to say any thing in favour of the admiral that was not true. All I wish, by the answer I have given, is to convey to the Court that the *Formidable was much farther to leeward than her station in the order of sailing prescribes;* and that is perfectly my idea.

50 *Q.* If those ships had been permitted to remain with their proper admiral, might they not have gone into action with him as he did, and in the same place where the commander-in-chief began action?

A. I see no reason why they should not; but I am not a competent judge of that part of the fleet; and I must beg leave to state the cause that brought the fleet into action at all, which cause did not exist when those ships chased. To make it as accurate as possible, I would wish to fix it, as was really the fact, upon a material shift of wind in our favour, which shift of wind did not happen, I believe, for four hours after those ships chased.

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51 *Q.* Look at your log-book, and inform the Court how much the wind shifted between six and ten o'clock that morning.

(Captain Jervis referred to his log-book.)

A. The wind shifted one point at 8 o'clock, and between 8 and 12 o'clock it shifted two points in favour of the fleet; the wind stands at S.W. at eight, and at twelve it stands at W.S.W. But I do not suppose a very great stress will be laid upon a shift of wind while we were in action. It stands so here, but I have never looked into the log-book since the day of action until now. A great deal was due to an evolution performed very successfully, and much beyond my expectations, which was that of tacking the fleet together. We continually looked up, after we were about, for the French fleet, and continued looking better and better for them.

52 *Q. By the Court.*—You speak here, upon you oath, from your own knowledge?

A. Yes, I have nothing to do with the log-book. I speak not from that, or from any minutes; I govern myself by the effect of the wind on the ship, and not the point itself. I cannot speak to any point, nor will I. I do not speak to the points of the wind or compass at this distance of time. I do not refresh my memory by log-books or any other minutes, for I have looked at none. I pay no regard whatever to it, though I would not have *a log-book under me altered upon any consideration on earth.* Yet I do not pay much faith to a log-book taken at such a time, because, where officers are attentive to an enemy and to the commander-in-chief, they do not put down every shift of wind, except accurate persons are appointed for that purpose alone.

53 *Q.* Did you ever know or ever hear of a commander of the third post in a fleet to have his ships drafted from him, and he left to go into action without being supported by the ships of his own division?

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A. Before I answer that question, I beg to observe, that I do not know that such a fact existed on the 27th of July. I certainly never did hear of such a thing; but I would have it understood I do not admit the fact to be so.

54 *Q.* Whether the French fleet's manœuvre in wearing did not contribute to bring them to leeward, and occasion the British fleet to lie better up with them than if they had not done so?

A. I must beg you will fix the period of wearing.

55 *Q.* If they wore at any time before the time of coming into action?

A. I saw them between eight and ten in the operation of wearing, and they certainly did fall to leeward; the circle described in wearing must have brought them further to leeward than they were before—there is no doubt of it.

56 *Q. By the Court.*—Notwithstanding that, could you have fetched the van of the fleet at the time you came into action?

A. No, not in the Foudroyant.

57 *Q. By the Prosecutor.*—There was another manœuvre of the French fleet—what was it?

A. That manœuvre was very much obscured by thick weather; but to the best of my belief and judgment, it was an attempt to perform the same evolution they had observed successfully performed by our fleet, with an attempt to pass us to windward, and to avoid an action. That is my belief; several of them did stay, others missed stays, and to that I ascribe the confusion and disorder I saw them in.

58 *Q.* In a distant view of a fleet changing their positions from one tack to the other, does it not naturally give an appearance of confusion?—they may be performing their evolutions successively in the wake of each other, part standing one way and part another.

A. It unquestionably does; but the disorder in part of the centre and rear did continue until the centre and rear of the fleet had passed me, during the whole time I was in

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action with them. I do not speak to the confusion, but the disorder certainly did continue, for they were in no line.

59 *Q.* Can you say, whilst the French were upon the starboard-tack, after having wore as you have described, whether, during the time they were upon that tack, they did not lead large?

A. I do not recollect that I saw the fleet lead large, after the whole were wore.

60 *Q.* If the rear division of the vice-admiral of the Blue had remained together, and engaged in like manner, in a connected body, with their own admiral, as the other divisions of the admirals of the fleet did, would they not have supported each other, have done more execution, and have suffered less, than by engaging singly and separately?

A. I do not know that any part of the question did really exist.

61 *Q.* Whether the ships which chased by signal, were not by that means separated at a distance from their admiral, and at a distance from each other, different from what they were before?

A. I did not know it existed at the time the vice-admiral of the Blue came into action; I was otherways too much employed; I was very attentive to my own business.

62 *Q.* After the action was over, and the admiral had laid his head to the northward again, what was the situation of the Red division at the time the admiral wore round the second time?

A. In the Foudroyant, I weathered a great part of the vice-admiral of the Red's division. When I say that, I mean four or five sail, I was covetous of the wind, because disabled as I then was, I conceived the advantage of the wind only could carry me again into action. When I approached the admiral upon the larboard tack, which, to the best of my recollection, was about three o'clock, and I had then got upon his weather beam, I observed the vice-admiral of the Red with a part of his division upon

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my weather beam, or thereabouts, to the best of my recollection; but I cannot speak positively to the precise point of the compass, or the angle of the ship. They were to windward of me.

63 *Q. By the Prosecutor.*—Were they ahead, withal?

A. I cannot say they were ahead of me, but I do not think they were ahead of the Victory; if they were, it was very little; but these particular circumstances, the distance of time being so very great, I cannot recollect. There were some things struck me very forcibly, which I do recollect; but there are many others my memory does not go to by any means, and I little expected to be called upon the occasion, or I might have remembered them better.

64 *Q.* You stated in your examination yesterday, whilst the admiral was standing towards the enemy, on the larboard tack, that he never had a collected force proper to advance with: that none of the ships took their stations in the line of battle; that the admiral made the signal for collecting the ships, which was the signal for the line. If, whilst the admiral was upon that tack, did he ever make the signal for ships to windward to bear down, or for any particular ship to make more sail, or the signal for observing any particular ships to be out of their stations?

A. I did not see those signals made which the vice-admiral of the Blue alludes to, while we were on the larboard tack; if they had been made, very few ships could have obeyed them, I am sure I could not.

65 *Q.* I think you said you saw the French wear, and stand so the southward. Can you give any reason why it was necessary to require an exact line of battle for advancing and attacking the enemy at that time, more than was requisite in the morning?

A. The admiral is charged with not having collected his ships together, and not keeping so near the enemy as to renew the battle so soon as might be proper. In reply to that part of the charge, I say the admiral made the

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signal for the line of battle, which in my judgment was the properest signal for calling the ships together, for the purpose of renewing the action, or for any other purpose of conducting the fleet down to the enemy at that time, disabled as the fleet then was.

66 *Q.* Am I to understand from your account in general that the condition of the fleet was such, that it was not proper to face the enemy, and renew the attack when they stood towards us, before they formed into a line?

A. The fact is, we did face the enemy.

67 *Q.* But whilst they were facing us, did not our fleet wear, and stand the other way?

A. We wore certainly; I described the object of that yesterday.

68 *Q.* Did you ever know or hear of a British fleet turning their sterns upon an enemy of equal or inferior force, that enemy standing towards them, immediately after having engaged them?

A. I deny the fact in all its extent and meaning.

69 *Q.* You have said that whilst the English fleet was standing to the southward, the French could have fetched and attacked them. In that case, were not our sterns towards them?

A. I answered to the whole of this yesterday; I explained the whole manœuvre, in answer to a question put by the admiral, and I shall not explain farther unless the Court require it.

70 *Q.* In an answer you gave yesterday, you mentioned the fleet edging down to four or five crippled ships, were not three of those ships of my division?

A. I did not know at that time what ships they were.

71 *Q.* You said, yesterday, that the sail the admiral carried during the afternoon could not prevent the vice-admiral of the Blue keeping up with him and keeping his station. Do you know whether the distance you have stated the Formidable to have been at, of three miles, was

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occasioned by any neglect of the Formidable, in not keeping up with the admiral?

A. I have not stated any such thing neither the first part nor the latter. There was no distance specified in the afternoon, nor is the first part rightly stated.

72 *Q.* Did you know the particular condition of the Formidable at that time?

A. I never pretended to any such knowledge.

73 *Q.* When did the Red division quit the station of the vice-admiral of the Blue?

A. They were never in it; I mean, in the afternoon.

74 *Q.* Were not they nearly so?

A. No, by no manner of means.

75 *Q.* Whereabouts was you during the afternoon — ahead or astern of the admiral?

A. Astern of the Victory, in my station, which I never quitted for a moment.

76 *Q.* Did not the Red division form astern of the admiral?

A. The greatest part of the Red division did—a considerable distance astern of the Foudroyant.

77 *Q.* What time did they quit that station?

A. To the best of my recollection—I cannot speak positively to time—about five o'clock.

78 *Q.* Was not the vice-admiral of the Blue, and the ships of his division, the last that came out of action?

A. They certainly were; they must have been from their situation.

79 *Q.* Have not you understood that they suffered more than the ships of the other division?

A. It did not appear to me that they had suffered more than many ships of the centre division; the Formidable certainly did appear to have suffered very much; but I conceive the ship I commanded suffered as much as any ship in the fleet in every sense, except in killed and wounded, which I am happy did not happen.

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80 *Q.* Was not the Red division the first part of the fleet that came out of action; consequently, had been the longest out in the evening?

A. Yes, I believe so.

81 *Q.* Are the sailing and fighting instructions you receive signed by the commander-in-chief, or are they signed by the flag officers of the separate division?

A. I never was of any division but that of the commander-in-chief.

The Court.—This being new matter, it is not proper for cross-examination.

82 *Q.* You have said you did not see the signal for the line repeated on board the Formidable. Was not the signal which was flying on board the commander-in-chief a sufficient warrant for every ship to take her situation when they were able to do so?

A. I must beg the interposition of the Court upon this question, for this is leading me to reflect upon the conduct of the captain of the vice-admiral of the Blue's division, whom I have the highest opinion of.

The Court said—You need not answer it, as it is matter of opinion.

A. I do not see any other application it will bear.

83 *Q.* No such application was meant, for the following question would have been put — whether they could take their stations, while they were occupied by other ships?

A. I have already denied that fact.

84 *Q.* You have been asked whether you saw the vice-admiral of the Blue make any signal of distress. I should be glad to understand what signal of distress it is supposed was applicable at that time?

A. Though I am not accountable for the questions that have been asked, I will repeat, I did not know the particular station of the Formidable, and never pretended to any such knowledge.

85 *Q. By the Court.*—Was the weather such that a boat

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could pass from one ship to another, without danger at that time?

A. The best proof of it is that our long boat was floating between the enemy's fleet and our own, without any body to guide her; but it was certainly weather that any boat might have lived in.

86 *Q. By the Prosecutor.*—You said you kept close to the Victory the whole afternoon?

A. From three o'clock, from the time the admiral wore.

87 *Q.* Then, of course, your rates of going were the same?

A. Undoubtedly, they must have been.

88 *Q.* Were you fired into by the Duke, or any other British ship, during the engagement on that day?

A. I never knew that the Duke fired a shot that day, till several days after; I do not believe that any ship fired into the Foudroyant but the French; I never heard of a shot appearing on the larboard side, nor did I ever conceive that such a thing had happened.

89 *Q.* Were any men wounded or blown up by an explosion on board the Foudroyant?

A. I did not know of any explosion till the action was over. The lieutenant who commanded on one of the decks reported to me that a man had been killed in the act of putting a cartridge into the gun, and the cartridge went off; it was a story I could not well account for. I believe we sent two men and a boy to the hospital who were blown up. Both the men recovered, and are now in the ship.

90 *Q. By the Court.*—Inform the Court, in answer to part of the fourth and fifth articles of the charge, whether, to your knowledge, Admiral Keppel did any one act, between the 23rd and 29th of July, disgraceful to the British flag?

A. I have already answered that question very fully, in a reply I gave yesterday; but I am ready to say, I did not know any one instance in his conduct that was disgraceful to the British flag, and I do say it.

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91 *Q.* Do you know of Admiral Keppel's having lost an opportunity, during the time before mentioned, of doing a most essential service to the state, and, by losing that opportunity, tarnishing the honour of the British flag?

A. I know of no such instance.

After the conclusion of the trial, Admiral Keppel addressed to Jervis the following letter: and that next to it, from Captain Jervis to Mr. Jackson, which has elsewhere appeared,* is worthy of perusal, as the captain's own view of the conduct of the two fleets.

DEAR JERVIS,

I will not, in a letter, express how much I owe to your correct and honourable line of proceeding. In my old age (if I live to be much older) it will be a pleasing reflection and expectation that God's protection was not wanting to me, when every wicked engine was at work for my destruction. If I am naturally not altogether deserving of His succour, I am sure what I have experienced calls for me to be a true believer. I will not dwell longer in this strain: if I have said too much, it proceeds from the strong possession the past business now works upon me in the present quiet moment. Yours ever, A. KEPPEL.

CAPTAIN JERVIS TO GEORGE JACKSON, ESQ.

Foudroyant, Plymouth Sound, 31st July, 1778.

MY DEAR JACKSON,

I do not agree that we have been outwitted. The French, I am convinced, never would have fought us if they had not been surprised into it by a sudden shift of wind; and when they formed their inimitable line, after our brush, it was merely to cover their intention of flight.

* Captain Brenton's Life of Earl St. Vincent.

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Four of our ships having got themselves to leeward, so far as to be cut off by the enemy, if Admiral Keppel had not judiciously bore down to them; and the shattered state of Sir Hugh's, which disabled him from taking his place in the line, rendered it impossible to renew the attack on the evening of the 27th.

I have often told you that two fleets of equal force can never produce decisive events, unless they are equally determined to fight it out, or the commander-in-chief of one of them misconduct his line.

I perceive it is the fashion of people to puff themselves, and no doubt you have seen, or will see, some of these accounts. For my part, I forbade the officers to write by the frigate that carried the despatches. I did not write a syllable myself except touching my health,—nor shall I, but to state the intrepidity of the officers and people under my command (through the most infernal fire I ever saw or heard) to Lord Sandwich, in which particular mention will be made of young Wells.

In justice to the Foudroyant, I must observe to You, that though she received the fire of seventeen sail, and had the Bretagne, Ville de Paris, and a Seventy-four upon her at the same time, and appeared more disabled in her masts and rigging than any other ship, she was the first in the line of battle, and really and truly fitter for business in essentials (because her people were cool) than when she began. Keep this to yourself, unless you hear too much said in praise of others. Yours, J. J.

In the following year, for a short time, the Foudroyant bore Lord Shuldham's flag; afterwards, in 1779, she was second astern of the Victory, Sir Charles Hardy's flag-ship in the Channel fleet, when he made such a dignified retreat before the greatly outnumbering Spanish and French fleets.

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It is true that Captain Jervis thought the battle ought to have been fought, and that in September he wrote to his sister: "I am in the most humbled state of mind I ever experienced, from the retreat we have made before the combined fleets all yesterday and this morning." But, upon consideration of the enormous superiority of the enemy, the immense preparations which France was then making for a descent upon England, and the certainty that if Sir Charles Hardy had been defeated, at least an attempt at invasion would have followed; the reader, uninfluenced by the galling irritation which every retreat, under whatever circumstances, cannot but rouse, will perhaps decide that the gallant admiral *cunctando restituit rem;* so at least the Admiralty, guided by Lord Howe's strong sense and sound judgment, thought, and signified its "high approbation" of Sir Charles's wise and prudent conduct.

During the years 1780-1 the Foudroyant was still in the channel fleets, under Admirals Geary and Derby, who during that period scarcely ever proceeded out of soundings.

At the commencement of 1782, after several parliamentary defeats, the Tories, under Lord North, retired, to make room for the Whigs, under the truly patriotic administration of Lord Rockingham. The difficulties under which his Lordship on accession to office found the country, and the dejection of the public spirit, might not have been alluded to in these memoirs, had not the first cheers sounded from the navy, and announcing laurels which Captain Jervis wore.

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The design of our enemies was, that while the combined fleets of France, Spain, and Holland too, swept the shores of Europe from north to south, a squadron of French line-of-battle ships, convoying a land force, should sail from Brest, to assail England in the East Indies.

To frustrate this, a part of the British minister's plan was, to despatch Admiral Barrington with twelve sail of the line, to the Bay of Biscay, to prevent the junction of the hostile squadrons, or to intercept the French expedition.

The Foudroyant was part of the Admiral's force, and they sailed early in April. On the 18th the French expedition left Brest, and on the 20th, when Admiral Barrington's squadron had reached a few leagues beyond Ushant, the Artois frigate signalled a hostile fleet, but could not discover their flag or numbers. At this moment the Foudroyant was in her station, in the order of sailing, her captain having just entered from the flag-ship, whither he had been summoned.

The signal being made for a general chase, by her superior sailing, and her captain's skilful management, the Foudroyant soon walked by the fleet; and when the day closed in she had so much gained upon the enemy as to ascertain that they were six French ships of war, and eighteen sail of convoy.

The whole of the rest of the British fleet being then several leagues astern, very soon afterwards, and until the following day, were entirely out of sight.

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At ten P.M. the French ships of war separating, Captain Jervis selected the largest for pursuit, assigning to his aide-de-camp and favourite midshipman, the gallant Mr. Richard Bowen, the duty on the fore-castle of keeping sight of the chace with his night-glass.

The captain's immediate attention being now engaged in the necessary preparations for battle, the steerage of the ship, and the preservation of her masts and yards, under the pressure of a crowd of sail, with a strong and increasing wind, he ever and anon hailed young Bowen, to know if he distinctly saw the chace. The replies were always in the affirmative; and when they had been so continually repeated that it was clear that the boy did not for a moment take his eye off the object, in delight Captain Jervis called out, "That's right, Bowen, do you only keep sight of her, and rely upon it I will never lose sight of you."*

At twelve, the Foudroyant was reaching close up to the chase, and she was clearly distinguished to

* A promise faithfully kept. At the close of the year, at the relief of Gibraltar, Mr. Bowen was, at Captain Jervis's request, appointed acting lieutenant of the Foudroyant; but not being confirmed, he afterwards joined Sir John Jervis's flag in the Prince, and was made lieutenant in 1790. In 1792 he followed his patron to the West Indies, and the following year obtained the rank of Commander, then of Post-captain into the Terpsichore; in which he so often and so brilliantly distinguished himself, and while captain of which he, at Teneriffe, so gallantly fell. Rapid promotion, and a glorious career! But here it was the merit which the captain discerned in the midshipman which assisted the patron to show such unceasing mindfulness of his word, and proved the soundness of his judgment.

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be a ship of the line; now too, close action being at hand, young Bowen having well done the duty assigned to him on the forecastle, took the aide-de-camp's station in battle — attendance on his captain on the quarter-deck.

The two ships were running at the rate of eleven knots, with the wind on the starboard quarter, the enemy being rather on the weather bow of the Foudroyant. When they were nearly within hail of each other, and before a gun had been fired, the officer on the Foudroyant's forecastle called out, "She has put her helm up to rake us, sir." On that, Captain Jervis's first impulse was, to put the Foudroyant's helm a-starboard, and deliver her broadside from her starboard guns; but it had already occurred to young Bowen that the contrary manœuvre would enable the Foudroyant to give the first fire, and instead of being raked, to rake her opponent; and so forcibly did this strike the boy, that he could not help exclaiming, "Then if we put our helm to port, we shall rake her." Captain Jervis immediately caught the idea; and feeling the force of it, "You are right, Bowen," he said, conceding the credit to whom it was due; and giving his orders accordingly, thus commenced his action. As the enemy hauled up, Captain Jervis clewed up his main-sail, took in his studding-sails, and passing under his opponent's stern at the distance of about twenty fathoms, continued his raking fire. It seemed that carnage threw the chase into confusion; for she then ran right before the wind, her sails and everything being in the greatest disorder. Perceiving

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this, Captain Jervis determined on boarding, and laid the Foudroyant on the enemy's larboard side, a little abaft the main-mast. Headed by young Bowen, his boarders were soon in possession of the enemy's deck, struck her colours with cheers, and thus, at one A.M., the action having lasted three quarters of an hour, ceased.

The prize proved to be the Pégase, 74, and in her Captain le Chevalier de Cillart; by the fortune of war, it happened that Captain Jervis made an old acquaintance his prisoner. The loss of life on board the Pégase, and the damage to the masts and yards, was great; in the Foudroyant not a man was killed, Captain Jervis and a few of his seamen, only five, being wounded. It blew so very fresh, and there was so much sea running, that the ships soon separated, and it was with great difficulty, and the loss of two boats, that Captain Jervis could send an officer and eighty men into the prize, and bring off about forty prisoners. As a feature of his mode of carrying on duty, it should not be omitted, that he did not allow the officer in the first boat that quitted the Foudroyant to shove off without written strict orders to be particular for the preservation of all the furniture, wearing apparel, and every thing belonging to the Pégase's captain and officers; to allow neither the French people nor his own to approach the place where they were deposited, except the sentinels to be placed over them; nothing, whatever it be, to be conveyed out of the ship without his knowledge, though it should be esteemed of no value; thus concluding the memorandum: "For

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though *I* have the highest opinion of my officers, *we must not be suspected* of designs to plunder."

In the morning the weather moderated, and some of the squadron arriving, Captain Jervis made the signal for assistance, which the Queen afforded, sending an officer and a strong party into the prize to reinforce that from the Foudroyant.

Perhaps it was to gladden a mother's eyes with proof that her boy was unharmed in the battle, that, his own parents being now dead, Captain Jervis deputed his nephew Henry, a stripling midshipman then on his first cruize, to write the news to Mrs. Ricketts, as the channel of announcing it to their family and friends. Mr. Henry Ricketts' letter was,

"I HAVE the happiness to inform you we have taken a seventyfour-gun ship from the French, after 50 minutes' action. We had not one man killed, only five wounded. My uncle has got a splinter, which has made both his eyes black, but he is very well; it is upon the top of his nose; he says you must write to Meaford, at Spithead, to-morrow. The ship's name is Pégase, seven months old, the captain an old acquaintance of my uncle's. We have taken about sixteen or seventeen transports out of twenty. We engaged till one in the morning; and shall most likely be with you soon. "Yours, affectionately, H. RICKETTS.

"P. S.—I assure you, upon my word, he is not very bad.
H. R."

In his report to the Admiralty of this action, Admiral Barrington said, "My pen is not equal to the praise due to the good conduct, bravery, and discipline of Captain Jervis, his officers, and seamen, on this occasion. Let his own modest narrative speak for itself.

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PROCEEDINGS OF H. M. SHIP FOUDROYANT,
APRIL 19, 1782.

At sunset I was near enough to discover that the enemy consisted of three or four ships of war, two of them of the line, and seventeen or eighteen sail of convoy, and that the latter dispersed by signal. At half-past nine, I perceived the smallest of the ships of war speak with the headmost and then bear away; at quarter-past ten the sternmost line-of-battle ship, perceiving we came up with her very fast, bore away also; I pursued her, and at seventeen minutes past twelve brought her to close action, which continued three quarters of an hour, when, having laid her on board on the larboard quarter, the French ship of war, le Pégase, of seventy-four guns and 700 men, commanded by Chevalier de Cillart, surrendered. I am happy to inform you that only two or three of the people, with myself, are slightly wounded, but I learn from the Chevalier de Cillart, that le Pégase suffered very materially in masts and yards, her fore and mizen top-masts having gone away, soon after the action."

The news of the capture of this line-of-battle ship from the enemy, defeating their expedition to the East Indies, seasonably acceptable as it must have been to Lord Rockingham's Administration, which had just taken office, and the more so as the feat of one of his own party, excited also universal admiration in England. Merely as an action between single ships of the line, it was one of very rare occurrence in our naval history, and in point of force, the combatants were nearly a match; for though the Foudroyant was of somewhat larger tonnage, and had three guns more at her broadside, yet the difference in the Pégase's weight of heavier

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shot, and her more numerous crew, besides soldiers on board, were of considerable importance in the comparison; but certainly in having been six years in commission, under such discipline, and in having been before in action, the Foudroyant had the decided superiority over her newly commissioned opponent.*

Not less willing was the king to reward his officer, than Lord Keppel, then at the Admiralty, to submit the claim to Royal notice. The Red Ribbon, and a baronetcy, were immediately conferred; and it would be easy to present here a long display of flattering gratulatory letters, which Sir John Jervis received from all quarters;—from many of the ministry, delighted, as the Duke of Richmond said, "to think that our first success was owing to you;" from his friend Admiral Barrington, and his brother officers in general, whose sentiments Captain Bowers well expressed, "I well know whom I am writing to, and that this success, however great and essential, is only a prelude to far greater;" and from his family, who, of course were proud of his rising superiority. But the character of this officer stands as little in need of such testimonials as the parade of them would have been offensive to him. It is upon his deeds themselves, and not upon subsequent compliments and adulations, that his fame hangs. Or, would we have better-founded information of the estimation he really was in, would we see him, that is, "as others

* It is a fact highly creditable to the French naval administration, that, the country being distressed for ships, the Pégase was built in seventy-six days!

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saw him," we must hear what they said to each other about him. And thus his admiral wrote, relating to Mr. Rose the result of the squadron's cruize: "But the Pégase is every thing, and does the highest honour to Jervis. What a noble creature! were we all like him, what might not be your expectations! Is it not surprising that Jervis should take a ship of equal force without losing a man? He, poor fellow, has got an honourable mark above his eye, which I conceive will be of no bad consequence, rather the reverse, for, as a man of middle age, it may make his fortune. The fair honour the brave, and we suppose delight in kissing the honourable mark.

"Yours, S. BARRINGTON."

In September 1782 the Foudroyant was one of the fleet sent under Lord Howe to relieve the garrison at Gibraltar.

A battle with the combined fleets of France and Spain was fully expected; and the enemy being in very superior force, Lord Howe was desirous of ascertaining the sentiments of the senior officers under his command, whether, if an option presented itself, the day or the night would be more eligible for the action. It was understood, that, as against such an outnumbering force, his lordship's own prepossession was in favour of the night, in confidence that the discipline and practice of the British fleet would compensate for their inferiority in numbers, while in the darkness the disparity would be less perceptible.

On the first opportunity during the passage, his lordship assembled all the flag officers and captains on board the Victory, and having fully stated the

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probable chances, commencing with the junior officer, according to the practice of courts-martial, he requested their voices separately.

Every officer accorded with what was supposed to be also the commander-in-chief's views, until it came to the turn of Sir John Jervis: but he dissented. Expressing regret that his duty compelled him to offer an opinion contrary, not only to that of his brother officers, but also, as he feared, to that of his commander-in-chief; "he was satisfied, that if the choice of a day or a night battle were afforded, the former would be greatly preferable. In the first place, it would give the fleet the benefit of the able direction and tactics of his lordship, who might take the more prompt advantage of any mistake on the part of the enemy, or of any fluctuation of wind, to make a successful impression on the most vulnerable point. Then the execution of any evolution they attempted, would be materially aided by the admirable code of day-signals, which his lordship had then lately introduced. While in the *mêlée* of a battle at night, there must always be greater risk of separation, and of ships receiving the fire of their friends as well as foes." Sir John concluded by strongly urging the advantages of a daylight fight.

After him the senior captains, and then Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, and Vice-Admiral Milbanke, gave their opinion in conformity with the junior captains, Vice-Admiral Barrington alone concurring with Sir John Jervis, only further observing, "That he could not contemplate that any

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ship would be found wanting in the day of battle: yet, should there unfortunately be a shy cock amongst them, daylight would expose him."

It is related, that Lord Howe made no comment; perhaps, for the moment, he was disappointed that the approval of his views was not unanimous. The events of that voyage did not call his lordship's discretion into exercise; but he seems afterwards to have evinced his sense of the soundness of Sir John Jervis's opinion by the course he adopted on the evening of the 31st May, 1794, when the enemy's fleet were directly to leeward of him.

The consummate seamanship and judgment with which, to the wonder of Europe, Lord Howe accomplished the service entrusted to him, are but a leaf of his lordship's laurels. With most accurate knowledge of the Straits, he lay-to, with his convoy, to the eastward of the Rock, and the Foudroyant was the ship he detached from his fleet to avail himself of the first favourable opportunity to escort the victuallers into safety; and she did so amid the acclamations of the garrison.

The hostile fleets were then so near to each other, that a general action seemed inevitable; but, the morning after the Victuallers entered, a gale of wind put an end to all chance of the conflict.

The value of this relief was the more important, because the surrender of General Cornwallis at York Town having given an irretrievable blow to our arms in America, and Lord Rodney's victory having put a pause to fighting in the West Indies, it was on the issue of the siege of Gibraltar that

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the eyes of all Europe were riveted, as on that which would prognosticate the event of the war. The heroism of General Elliott on the 13th of September, had shown that all attempts at storming the fortress were hopeless; and a regular siege having been equally unsuccessful, the warfare was, in *dernier ressort,* changed into a blockade, in the hope that famine would do for the enemy that which, by their own arms, they could not do for themselves. England was, therefore, now released from all anxiety for the safety of this most important possession,

At the close of 1782 the Foudroyant was paid off, having been nearly eight years in commission; and whatever may be the partiality for her captain, it is not too much to say, that perhaps a line-of-battle ship in better discipline, or a more perfect man-of-war, the British navy had then never seen. Not a few are the very old officers whom the writer of these memoirs has had the honour to meet, who recollected her, and who took delight in talking about how "great a thing it was then thought to go on board the Foudroyant;" with what awe they used to approach Sir John Jervis! what a stern officer he was! what an object of curiosity the ship was to all in the port! but especially to the officer, who when any important piece of duty was going on (let the young midshipman mark this) used then to make interest to be admitted on board, for the express purpose of learning from the best model of the day! The ship herself, too, besides combining great sailing with

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fighting superiorities, was one of beautiful appearance and outline; as if the Admiralty, confident in its choice, was desirous of exhibiting its rising officer in the most attractive light.

After such a lapse of time, it is impossible to pretend to offer any, however faint an outline, of the Captain's regulations; still less to give any of those speaking little anecdotes "which historians* in their grandeur disdain to record." Yet there is authority for saying, that Sir John Jervis used to exercise his crew at the great guns much more than was at that time the general practice in the service; and some idea may be formed of the high repute and excellent education of his quarter-deck for midshipmen, from some letters which will follow this chapter: the arrangement found most perspicuous being that, as the events of this officer's life transpired in periods equally dissimilar as important, the correspondence, such of it as remains to each, should from hence immediately follow the respective narratives.

TO MRS. RICKETTS.

H.M.S. Gosport, in the Downs, 19th Nov. 1760.

I HAD not the pleasure of my dear sister's letter till yesterday, owing to its being sent to Plymouth after I sailed from thence; the joy my friends receive from my promotion is a great addition to the satisfaction such a fortunate event must give me. I hope my dear sister does me the justice to believe, that whatever good fortune may attend me, will always be shared among my friends. I am only concerned to have been so circumstanced as not

* Lord Orford.

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to be able to give them more proof of it, and to show that it is not from want of inclination, but means.

Ever yours affectionately, J. JERVIS.

TO WILLIAM JERVIS, ESQ.

H.M.S. Alarm, Port of Marseilles, April 27th, 1770.

Your letter, my dear brother, which I had the happiness to receive the 25th, is the greatest cordial to me imaginable; had I time, it would not become me, who am the hero of the tale, to relate the disaster of the Alarm; it will serve for a little parlour conversation when we meet.

Yours, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO WILLIAM JERVIS, ESQ.

H.M.S. Alarm, Cadiz Bay, Oct. 2nd, 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

The several occasions I have fortunately had of doing justice to the service I am in, and credit to the nation, have, I am sure, given joy to the little mansion. The introduction I gave all the officers of the Alarm to the Duke of Chabelais, caused H. R. H. to distinguish them, and to make handsome presents to the major part, which affords me more pleasure than if the attention had been conferred on me — a diamond ring from his finger, and a handsome gold box, with every gracious mark of distinction at dinner, conversation, and all his progresses; was much more than I had the least idea of:—to each of the lieutenants a handsome gold box; to the lieutenant of marines, and five of the midshipmen, Geneva gold watches (Wilmot and Sneyd of the number); and to the other officers, and ships' company, a princely sum of money. I pride myself exceedingly in the presents being so diffused; on all former occasions they have centred in the captain. I understand the court of Turin has expressed the highest satisfaction in my behaviour to the Duke, and I am in hourly expectation of a

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letter from Mr. Lynd (with whom I have contracted an acquaintance) confirming it.

On my passage from Gibraltar I touched at Tangier, and was admitted into the Emperor of Morocco's presence, in the centre of his army, drawn up in two columns, facing each other. Such a collection of barbarians no fancy can paint; all in the Moorish blanket dress, his Imperial Majesty not excepted. I envied him nothing but his horse, the noblest animal I ever beheld. I had a number of my officers and young people with me, and was received very graciously, with strong assurances of friendship to the English, and an order to be supplied with every refreshment I was in want of. That my dearest father and mother, and brother, may enjoy health and happiness, is the constant prayer of J. JERVIS.

TO MRS. RICKETTS.

H. M. S. Alarm, Mahon, Dec. 27th, 1770.

DEAR SISTER,

All my schemes of amusement in Italy were cut short by hostile appearances, and my comforts by the most stormy weather I ever experienced. I should have met with an uncommon reception from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, could I have reconciled the trip to Florence with my duty. H. R. H. had graciously signified his desire to see me, and I suffered the mortification of being detained by stress of weather in Leghorn roads long enough to have visited all Tuscany. I was twenty-four hours in the Bay of Marseilles, about a fortnight ago; just time enough to receive the warm embraces of the man to whose bravery and friendship I had, some months before, been indebted for my reputation, the preservation of the lives of the people under my command, and of the Alarm. You would have felt infinite pleasure at the scene of our interview.

Yours, &c. J. JERVIS.

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TO WILLIAM JERVIS, ESQ.

Hinton, July 7th, 1771.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I have seldom known men who entrench themselves within the letter of the law possessed of true courage, therefore am not surprised at —— flinching, when he was charged home. I doubt not your firmness on that most trying occasion; but hope you will forgive me for reminding you, how much is due to yourself, in preserving your temper, and avoiding any discussion, which immediately levels all distinction. Yours, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO MRS. JERVIS.

Bordeaux, May 4th, 1774.

CONCLUDING my brother is gone to Bath, I address this to my dearest mother, and have great satisfaction in acquainting her, I shall be in England early in the next month. Nothing could add more to my happiness than the receipt of my brother's letter on my arrival here this morning, which gave so good an account of your health and spirits. Happy shall I always be to contribute to the continuance of them in the smallest degree; and though my pursuits lead me from you, be assured, dearest Madam, my duty, my affections, and my inclinations are ever with you.

J. JERVIS.

FROM THE REV. G. J. HUNTINGFORD,
Afterwards Bishop of Gloucester.

Swinden College, May, 18, 1778.

SIR,

The kind, generous, and humane behaviour which you have been pleased to show to my unhappy brother, demands my earliest acknowledgments, and most sincere thanks. You have relieved from bitter anxiety an afflicted family; you have rescued from an abode of distress and despair a

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young man, born to good prospects, liberally educated, and brought up to a genteel profession. For such instances of benevolence may you reap every blessing, which minds sensibly affected with your goodness can possibly conceive or wish for you. If any attention to your nephews, my pupils, may be deemed a return, although inadequate to the favours received, my utmost services shall be exerted for them, both from motives of respect, and gratitude to you. I am, Sir, your very obliged and faithful humble servant,

G. J. HUNTINGFORD.

TO GEORGE JACKSON, ESQ.,
Under Secretary to the Admiralty.

Foudroyant, 9th August, 1778.

MY DEAR JACKSON,

You must allow me to interest your humanity in favour of poor Spicer, who, overwhelmed with dropsy, asthma, and a large family, and with nothing but his pay to support him under these afflictions, is appointed to the ——— under a mean man, and very likely to go to East India. The letter he writes to the Board, desiring to be excused from his appointment, is dictated by me. Admiral Keppel has already offered to take Boger into the Victory, if you promote, as you ought to do, out of her; and when that takes place, I shall write for Spicer to be first-lieutenant of the Foudroyant, with intention to nurse him and keep him clear of all expense.

The effort we are making to meet the French is a noble one, worthy of Admiral Keppel, and I hope in ten days we shall be able to put it into execution. I am yours,

J. JERVIS.

FROM GENERAL THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

Whitehall, May 29, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Duchess of Leinster has a son, Lord Gerald Fitz Gerald, whom she means to send to sea; he is turned of

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fourteen, and my sister has a notion, that both the Duke of Leinster and Lord Charles Fitzgerald have already got his name entered on board different ships, that his time may be going on; but she does not know in what ship or ships this has been done. She has some notion that Lord Charles may have applied to you, or to Captain M'Bride, for this purpose. But, what is much more material than his time, is the officer under whom he shall be educated; and having mentioned to my sister, with equal truth and admiration, the excellent footing on which I saw the young men of your ship, she is exceedingly desirous of obtaining your leave to send him with you. I told her I would write to you to ask this favour, which if you are so good as to grant, will greatly oblige both her and me. Lord Gerald is now in London, and ready to set out at a moment's notice to join the Foudroyant, if you are so good as to take him; and he will either equip himself here, in such manner as you shall direct, or at Portsmouth, if you think that better. I have no excuse to make for this application, for if you will have the best education for young men on board your ship, you must expect to be plagued with requests of this nature. Your most obedient and sincere humble servant, RICHMOND, &c.

FROM GENERAL THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

Ramner Camp, near Dorking, August the 6th, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,

As it is by no means a matter of indifference to me whether my nephew receives the best education possible at sea, or the common one which is very bad, I must rejoice at his being with you, where he will be made both a seaman and a gentleman. Good sense in education is rarely met with, and unreasonable severity or total neglect are the extremities which are oftener fallen into, than that just medium observed on board the Foudroyant; for even at-

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tention without judgment is of little avail. From the little I have seen, and the much I have heard, I am convinced that Lord Gerald is a very lucky young man to have been received by you. I am, my dear sir, ever your most obedient and faithful servant, RICHMOND, &c.

TO MRS. RICKETTS.

H. M. S. Foudroyant, at sea, August 29th, 1780.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I forgot to answer the passage in your letter relative to Edward, which I now do briefly thus: His choice of our profession must be entirely his own: and he should be made to understand, that I do not encourage it, by any means. That he must lie in the berth with the other midshipmen; live as they do; and have no other distinction whatsoever; for the first year, he must rise at break of day; and apply closely to his studies, and to his seamanship: be very subordinate and respectful to all in authority over him, and never repine at the hardships and impositions he is bound to bear in common with others. The life is a very rigorous one, and what few boys, educated as he has been, can bear. If he chooses to embark on these terms, I shall be ready to receive him; but if he disgraces me and his family afterwards, by turning his back, I shall bury in total oblivion his alliance of blood, (which is no tie to me when unaccompanied by manly virtue,) and have no other feeling about him than I should have for any other indifferent person entrusted to my care, who acted in such a manner as not to merit my esteem and regard. I forgot to mention, that, after the first year, in which I expect he will become master of the theory of navigation, he must watch and do his duty with punctuality and alertness; and at least with as much precision as the best midshipman in the ship,—for I shall always exact *more* from a very near relative than from those I receive on recommendation. Henry is gone

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to his business again, but he has been rallied about his illness, and the plan to let the ship sail without him, as well as for carrying his new bought sword, unknown to me (I mean the purchase) to Longwood, as the officers tell him, to swagger before the shepherd-boys, and to cut the rabbits' heads off at their holes. He takes it all as I could wish him to do. I must beg you will never order him any clothes without my participation, for I shall make him wear his worst jacket through the winter; he must not, on any account be more expensive in dress or pocket-money, than the others. Yours, &c. J. JERVIS.

ORDERS BY CAPTAIN JERVIS.

H. M. S. Foudroyant, 13th April, 1782.

MR. MANLEY to take particular care, that all the cabin furniture, the wearing apparel, and utensils of every kind belonging to the captains and officers of the Pégase are preserved, and that neither the French people nor our own are suffered to approach the places where they are deposited, except the sentinels who have the care of them. All charts and maps, both in books and sheets, signals, signal-colours, books of navigation, ordonnance de la marine, and nautical instruments of naval evolution, be carefully collected and delivered to me, with an inventory of them. Whenever any boats come on board, except from our own ships, the boats' crews to be prevented, as much as possible, from going into the ship, and nothing to be conveyed out of her without my knowledge, though it should be esteemed of no value. When at anchor, shore-boats not to be permitted to hover about the ship, nor the officers and men to pass and repass in them: although I have the highest opinion of them, we must not be suspected of designs to plunder. J. JERVIS, Captain.

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FROM COLONEL BARRÉ.

MY DEAR JERVIS, Saturday night.

I need not tell you how much I was alarmed at the different reports about you. Mr. Gardiner's letter has given me some, though not as entire satisfaction as I wished, for I declare solemnly that all the glory you can acquire will not compensate for the loss of you, if that should ever happen. This is not so manly a sentiment as I ought to utter to you, but it comes from my heart. I rejoice most cordially at the honour you have gained, but I always expected as much. Let me hear from you when every doubt is removed. The danger you were said to be in, shows the amazing number of friends you have.

Ever most affectionately yours, H. BARRÉ.

EXTRACT FROM ADMIRAL KEPPEL.

MY DEAR CAPTAIN JERVIS, April 26th 1782.

I trust this letter, under cover, to your admiral, in case you should have brought your ship to Spithead. I could not, in justice to my feelings of real friendship to you, refuse myself a day in transmitting the sentiments of a grateful heart, to your distinguished services and merit; and I rejoice to hear that the wound you have received is so likely to do well. My description to you of the general joy of town will not require much pains to paint; that our first effort should be successful, and that my principal friend should appear so conspicuous an actor in the glory of it, seems more than could have been expected in the ordinary course of things.

I am your very sincere and humble servant,

A. KEPPEL.

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FROM LORD SHELBORNE.

Shelborne House, 29th April, 1782.

MY DEAR JERVIS,

Allow me to assure you, that none of your friends partake more in your fame than Lady Shelborne and myself. I have sent your letter to Monsieur le Marquis de Carbries, through a very respectable channel. I wish you would come and see us; I should go to you, if it were not for the engagements I am under from morning till night. I beg to be remembered to all our ship's company. With sincere truth and regard, believe me your faithful servant,

SHELBORNE.

FROM LORD KEPPEL.

Admiralty, May 22, 1782.

DEAR CAPTAIN JERVIS,

Since seeing you this morning the King gave me an opportunity of mentioning to him some things that were necessary, upon the present situation his government is in, from the resolutions they took of releasing Sir George Rodney, some days ago; and after His Majesty's being most gracious upon the different matters that were left upon me to propose, relative to the West India fleet; the King of himself said, he was ready to hear me upon anything I had to propose, as a mark of His notice to Captain Jervis. I mentioned the Red Ribbon, and in consequence of it, I am commanded by His Majesty to acquaint you that He shall be ready, and prepared to invest you with the Ribbon on this day se'nnight. I have much satisfaction in giving you this information, and I am, very truly,

Your sincere humble servant, KEPPEL.

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CHAPTER IV.

Sir John Jervis appointed Commodore of an Expedition destined against the Spanish West Indies.—Enters Parliament.—His opinion on the Peace with America.—Promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral.—Hoists his Flag.

SHORTLY after he was superseded in the Foudroyant, Sir John Jervis was united to the lady in whom his letter to his sister had before disclosed his affections centred, Miss Martha Parker, daughter of Sir Thomas Parker, the Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer.

In 1783 the Minister projected a conjoint expedition against the Spanish West Indies. Sir John Dalling was the general selected; but it would appear that the command of the naval co-operation was not very popular among officers, for two of his seniors declined it, before Sir John accepted it; but he did not hesitate. Indeed, it should be at once stated as a remarkable feature of his professional life, that, from first to last, throughout his long career at sea, he never once solicited, or refused, any particular service. His broad pendant was hoisted in the Salisbury, which Captain, afterwards Sir John Duckworth, was to command; but on the subsidence of the American War into what was termed the

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Armed Neutrality, the project was abandoned; nor was Sir John Jervis again employed as post-captain.

Very soon afterwards he went into Parliament, representing Launceston; and in the general election of 1784 he sat for N. Yarmouth.

At parliamentary eloquence Sir John Jervis made no attempt whatever; indeed, he had not the very highest opinion of its utility, never perceiving the finest oration to have any effect on the numbers of the division, to which alone he looked; he therefore did not aim at being a debater; yet, whenever he did deliver his opinions, his manner, from the first moment of his maiden speech, was unembarrassed and natural, which in him was forcible; his thoughts were collected, and in the little he said, his language well exhibited his mind; it was accurate and clear, manly and energetic; and thus he left the impression he desired.

Long before he appeared in the House of Commons, all the warmest politicians of the day—in the society of most of whom he was found—were aware of the bias of his opinions. In his early years, intimate with Admiral Saunders and with Wolfe, then with Admirals Barrington and Keppel, and with Sir Charles Grey; afterwards, in continual confidential intercourse with all the leaders of "the great body of Whigs," Lord Rockingham, Duke of Richmond, Lord Shelburne, and Mr. Fox; Sir John Jervis became, and through life continued, the staunch supporter of that party and principles: or, rather, he should be called a Whig Royalist; for, although upon all other constitutional questions the strong

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inclination of his opinion was toward the liberal side; yet of the necessary and lawful prerogatives of the Crown, and of its consequence and grandeur, he was at all times the eager defender.

An incident, exhibiting at once the consideration he had attained with great men in politics, and the clear-sightedness of his own views, having already appeared in a sketch which it is hopeless to attempt to improve, a quotation of it is borrowed :*—"When Lord Shelburne's peace (1783) was signed, and before the terms were made public, he sent for the captain (not the admiral yet), and showing them, asked his opinion. 'I like them very well,' said he; 'but there is a great omission.'—'In what?'—'In leaving Canada as a British Province.'—'How could we possibly give it up?' inquired Lord Shelburne. 'How can you hope to keep it,' replied the veteran warrior, 'with an English republic just established in sight of Canada, and with a population of a handful of English settled among a body of hereditary Frenchmen? It is impossible; and, rely on it, you only retain a running sore, the source of endless disquiet and expense.'—'Would the country bear it? Have you forgotten Wolfe and Quebec?' asked his lordship. 'Forgotten Wolfe and Quebec!—no: it is because I remember both. I served with Wolfe at Quebec. Having lived so long, I have had full time for reflection on this matter; and my clear opinion is, that if this fair occasion of giving up Canada is neglected, nothing

* Lord Brougham's Sketches.

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but difficulty in either keeping or resigning it will ever after be known.'"

The minister whom Sir John Jervis thus admonished, used to pique himself on seating in parliament a person of eminence from each of the professions: and together with Sir John Jervis—his early associate in arms, and always after his very great friend—Colonel Barré, was returned by Lord Shelburne's influence, and their intimacy was thus almost daily cemented. A history of the parliamentary politics of that period does not seem necessary. The Whigs were in opposition; and Sir John Jervis' name is found upon all their great divisions in the struggle for liberty, and at all the meetings for religious toleration and parliamentary reform. But the effort he made on the behalf of Captain Brodie, when the passing him over in a Flag promotion was discussed in the House, must appear at length; because it at once fairly exhibits Sir John Jervis in debate, records his opinion on an important professional question, and shows the assistance he would render to an injured brother officer.

Sir John Jervis said, that he likewise felt it his indispensable duty to do justice to that great man whose case was then under consideration, and to declare, that a more gallant officer, a person of more zeal, of more true courage, or of more enthusiastic spirit of enterprise, never was in his Majesty's service. Captain Brodie's repeated applications to be employed during the war with Spain, when she joined France against us, was a sufficient answer to any argument which could be adduced from his having, in his

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application for a pension, declared himself at that time incapable of service. His active spirit, and his professional zeal, had induced him to continue in command immediately after the loss of his arm; and the consequence was, that his wounds grew worse from too much exertion in an unwholesome climate, and he was rendered for three or four years incapable of serving; but when he grew better, he was desirous of returning to the exercise of his duties as an officer; and it would, perhaps, have been well for his country, if the Board of Admiralty had accepted his offer in 1762, as he was perfectly acquainted with the navigation of the part of the world to which he wished to go. At a time when party disputes divided the navy, and ran so high as to greatly injure the service, Captain Brodie not only kept his character free from that imputation, but his conduct stood forth conspicuous for its bravery and its merit. A stronger proof of this assertion need not be given to the House than the following fact. It fell to the share of a most distinguished officer sitting upon a court-martial on an officer of eminence, to examine Captain Brodie, then commanding the Stafford, and to draw from him, though very reluctantly, an account of the proceedings of the day on which the conduct of the officer upon trial had taken place: when, after hearing Captain Brodie out, the respectable commander in question burst forth into an exclamation of applause, and declared "that the oldest officers in the service might be glad to give up all the glory of their actions to have acted as Captain Brodie did on that day." "Now upon this fact alone," continued Sir John, "I appeal to the generosity, and to the justice of the House, and I ask you whether you can refuse to procure for a gallant officer that rank and those professional honours to which he is so justly entitled,—for an officer worn down with age, and still smarting with the wounds received in the service of his country, who has just faculties enough left to feel the injustice done him, and who, unless that in-

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justice be redressed, cannot lay his head in the grave in peace."

The motion was resisted by the government, and negatived; but Sir John Jervis' manly speech on the behalf of his brother officer elicited much applause from the unrelenting minister.

In 1786 a commission issued from the Crown, authorising some officers to examine and report upon the expediency of a plan for fortifying the arsenals of Plymouth and Portsmouth. Sir John was included, and by his constant attention and well-informed investigation, soon became the prominent member of the inquiry. The project submitted, was a well-concerted attempt at extravagance and jobbery. From aught that he had as yet done, the singular good fortune of selecting Sir John Jervis to investigate and probe this source of national decay, was not apparent. But now too, he tokened the future; his glance was so fatal to the design, so completely did he unravel and expose it, that while he at a coup crushed the effort, he also exhibited in this his first interference with civil affairs, his capacity for business, and the sagacious and keen scent, and implacable hostility with which he would hunt out and combat such nefariousness, should it ever again presume to attempt to elude him.

In 1787 Sir John Jervis was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral: and shortly afterwards, in the armament by England, in consequence of the misunderstanding between Prussia and Holland, he was called upon to serve. The Carnatic, 74, Captain

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Boger, was destined for his flag, but the dispute being amicably settled, the ship was paid off; and this little circumstance is only introduced because, in the progressive attempt to relate the life of so great a man, it is right and it is interesting to mark, whenever it is possible, the origin of his acquaintance with those very distinguished officers whom he brought forward in the service.

The first-lieutenant of the Carnatic was Mr. (afterwards the Admiral Sir Henry) Bayntun, his appointment to the ship being unsolicited and unexpected. When the lieutenant waited upon his Admiral to thank him for it, and inquired who had introduced him to notice,—"Sir," replied Sir John, "you have only yourself to thank;" and then commenced, what afterwards ripened into an esteem that never was interrupted. Mr. Bayntun was hitherto unknown, but he will hereafter be found progressively raising himself in the good opinion of the patron he had by his merit acquired, and distinguishing himself among the best officers, up to his gallant conduct at Trafalgar; where, how neatly he laid the Leviathan alongside the San Antonio, and, after a short conflict, boarded, captured, and took his prize in tow, naval men well remember.

The year 1790 was remarkable for the jeopardy in which Spain placed the peace of Europe by her indiscrete manifestation at Nootka Sound, of her ambition to possess the exclusive sovereignty and trade of the seas and lands of the New World; and her jealousy of England's commercial enterprise.

In the diplomatic representations which followed

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a gross outrage to the British flag, it soon appeared, that reparation was by no means so much the obstacle with the court of Madrid to amity, as to relinquish inordinate pretensions. But the British minister had too much of his great father's blood in him to permit Spain to slight England; and he was heartily backed by the nation, being, as an independent state, little disposed to submit to insult, nor, as an enlightened and Protestant one, to bow down before the absurd extension of the Papal temporal power, to a right to grant title and sovereignty over lands yet undiscovered, and of which the locality and extent could be described only by imaginary lines on a map.*

When remonstrance was ineffectual, both nations prepared for the sword. Mr. Pitt delivered a message from the Crown to the Commons, which they most loyally entertained. The Opposition withdrew all resistance, and a million was voted for preparations. A large naval force was soon collected, of which at first Admiral Barrington had the command, and Sir John Jervis served as captain of the fleet; but on Lord Howe's succeeding to the command-in-chief, Sir John hoisted his flag in the Prince, 98, (Mr. Bayntun being one of the lieutenants,) in commnad of a division of the fleet, which soon sailed. Spain

* And yet, as Nootka Sound was undiscovered before the East India Company, in 1788, sent to open a trade there, this could have been, as it in fact was, the only title to which the court of Spain could pretend, viz. that, in 1493, Pope Alexander the VIth, by a bull, granted to that Crown all lands to be discovered between Cape Horn and six degrees of north latitude!

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too, on her side, was not inactive; she collected a powerful fleet; but dreading a single-handed trial of naval prowess with England, she applied to France for assistance, appealing to the family compact of 1761. The National Assembly responded to the call by a decree to equip a large naval force. And now peace seemed fled beyond recall. But weakness in the elements of our opponent's national power and policy interfered, for a short time longer, to protect England from the calamity of war. When the French fleet assembled at Brest, it soon appeared that the licentiousness and insubordination, which had demoralised the armies of the Republic, had also unnerved her navy—discipline was gone, mutiny broke out; the crews took upon themselves to appoint and remove officers, according to their political sentiments; and it was clear that from such a disorganised force nothing effectual could be expected. The English cabinet, all this the more powerful, but averse to the horrors of war, if they might be honourably avoided, had, in June, as a *dernier ressort*, sent Mr. Fitzgerald to Madrid to make a last and more forcible appeal of words; and at length the court of Spain, perceiving its own imbecile helplessness, listened to reason. The *amende* was made, and a convention ensued, which placed the interests of the two kingdoms on an intelligible and satisfactory basis.

Hostilities being thus honourably avoided, when the ships were ordered to be paid off, the Admiralty indulged each flag-officer with the recommending of a midshipman for promotion. The quarter-deck of

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the Prince was then full of young gentlemen from the first families in the kingdom, who moved their best interest to place their relations in the wake of such a rising officer. Many of those high-born aspirants had passed their examination for lieutenancy; and each eligible candidate, silently relying on the efforts of his own aristocratic connexions, flattered himself that he should be the fortunate chosen; but when the day of nomination arrived, to their no less surprise than disappointment, Sir John Jervis' unsolicited selection was in favour of a friendless, retiring, but well-conducted son, of an old and poor but well-conducted lieutenant; and in answer to the youth's overflowings of gratitude and astonishment at his good fortune, replied in a letter, a copy of which is to follow, with that of two others, exhibiting the admiral's treatment of his officers.

SIR,

I named you for the lieutenant I was allowed to promote, because you had merited the good opinion of your superiors, and that you were the son of an old officer and worthy man, in no great affluence.

A steady perseverance in that conduct which has now caused you to be thus distinguished, is the most likely means to carry you forward in your profession; for I trust that other officers of my rank will observe the maxim I do, to prefer the son of a brother officer, *when deserving*, before any other.

I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,

J. JERVIS.

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TO GEORGE PURVIS, ESQ.

29 Nov. 1790.

DEAR SIR,

I enclose ——'s letter as a testimony of his effrontery; no consideration will ever induce me to countenance any officer who slights the good opinion of his captain, or presumes to attempt to pay me a compliment at the expense of him. Yours ever, J. JERVIS.

TO GEORGE PURVIS, ESQ.

26 Nov. 1790.

DEAR SIR,

I beg the Ward-room may be accommodated with everything they like; I would offer to present them with the whole of the Guernsey wine; but, judging of them by my own feelings, I fear to give offence to a set of gallant officers and worthy gentlemen.

The real character of sea officers cannot be masked from each other; and I wish to be judged by that test. I never have yet forsaken any man who served well under me, which I declare, without reserve, you have done, and to my entire satisfaction. Very sincerely yours, J. JERVIS.

In the general election of 1790 Sir John was returned for Wycombe; and at the opening of the session he voted with the Opposition, in favour of the Address, on the termination of the Nootka Sound affair, speaking shortly in support of it. In all the subsequent divisions of importance, he voted with the Whigs; he supported Mr. Whitbread's motion against the armament against Russia; he voted with Mr. Grey for reform of parliament; and he signed

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the Declaration of the friends of the people; being one of that small, but undaunted band of patriots in the House who, in those most unfavourable times, gallantly struggled for freedom and for peace. His votes, therefore, were also against England's interference with France, in the arrangement of her internal affairs. But when the efforts of his party were ineffectual against Mr. Pitt's influence and Mr. Burke's oratory, when war was decided upon; he, in 1793, quitted parliament, to render more effectual services to his country, and those for which, as from her officer, she had a higher claim.

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CHAPTER V.

Sir John Jervis commander-in-chief of the squadron of an expedition against the French West Indian Islands.—Attack on Martinique.—Intrepid conduct of Captain Faulknor.—Conquest of all the Islands.—Yellow fever and mortality among the naval and military forces.—Sir John Jervis also dangerously ill.—Obtains permission to retire.—Prepares his return, but counter-orders it, on arrival of French troops under Victor Hughes.—Disasters at Guadaloupe.—Arrival of Rear-Admiral Caldwell with reinforcements.—Sir John Jervis returns to England.

AT the close of the year 1793, the British ministry determined on an attack on the French Charribbee Islands, where, as it was believed, the Republican government of France was but coldly received; and from whence the contagion of its intoxicating doctrines, if not arrested, might cause a kindred rebellion in our own colonies.

Sir John Jervis was selected to command the squadron; his great friend, General Sir Charles Grey, the troops. When Sir John accepted the appointment, a considerably larger force was promised than was afterwards afforded. What caused the curtailment is not known; but that it was reduced to a lower scale than the admiral was led to anticipate, and that promises of reinforcements were not kept, is certain, from a forcible memorandum which he

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afterwards very formally made, and deposited for publicity. An extract from it is:

When the West India expedition came into discussion at the Admiralty, in October 1793, Lord Chatham pledged himself to me, that Rear Admiral Gell, with one second-rate, and two seventy-four-gun ships, should join me at Barbadoes, and that the Leviathan, after being new copper-sheathed, or some other seventy-four, should follow. This assurance caused my taking a very strong part with Sir Charles Grey, against the unanimous opinion of all the principal land-officers, particularly Generals Prescott and Thomas Dundas, Adjutant Francis Dundas, and Quarter-master-General Symes, who maintained that our force was inadequate to the reduction of Martinique, and that it was madness to attempt it.

I never received a letter from Lord Chatham, or the Secretary of the Admiralty, to inform me that those ships were countermanded; nor was I ever acquainted that Rear Admiral Murray, with a squadron, was ordered to South America, although the protection of our settlements and trade on the Continent formed a part of my instructions; and I was kept in continual alarm for the safety of Nova Scotia and the island of Bermudas, pending the capture of the islands; and was strongly prompted to send a squadron to intercept Admiral Vaustable, and the invaluable trade he had the charge of, which I certainly should have done had the engagement of the Admiralty respecting the four line-of-battle ships under Admiral Gell been fulfilled. The moment the islands were reduced, I sent the Quebec and Alarm to Bermuda, and afterwards the Ceres (in a deplorable state of sickness) with a supply of arms, which Governor Hamilton demanded as absolutely necessary for his preservation, menaced with an invasion from Virginia. The Blanche and Zebra were before detached to Halifax with his Royal Highness Prince Edward, for the protection

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of that important post; and the Beaulieu followed, very sickly it is true, but the men likely to recover in a northern climate. The Terpsichore wanting an entire new set of masts, and other repairs, was also despatched, first to relieve Sir Charles Knowles in the Dœdalus, who had been blocked up and grossly insulted by the enemy at Norfolk in Virginia for six months, and after performing this service, to proceed to Halifax, to new mast and refit. These necessary detachments left me with few ships, and those so sickly from the unexampled services their officers and crews had performed, that some of them could scarce heave their anchors up, although I had repeatedly stated to the Board and Lord Chatham the insufficiency of the force.

The whole combined force which left England was,

	Guns.	
Boyne	98	Vice Admiral Sir John Jervis. Captain George Grey.
Vengeance	74	Commodore Charles Thompson. Captain Henry Paulet.
Invincible	74	Capt. John Henry.
Veteran	64	Charles Edmund Nugent.
Blanche	32	Christopher Parker.
Terpischore	32	Sampson Edwards.
Blonde	32	John Markham.
Solebay	32	William Hancock Kelly.
Beaulieu	40	John Salisbury.
Quebec	32	Josias Rogers.
Rose	28	Edward Riou.
Vesuvius, bomb		Charles Sawyer.
Nautilus	18	James Carpenter.
Rattlesnake	18	Matthew Henry Scott.
Sea Flower	16	William Pierrepoint.
Zebra	16	Robert Faulknor.
Experiment, Woolwich, Dromedary *en flute*	44	Simon Miller.
	44	John Parker.
	44	Sandford Tatham.

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Joined the squadron in Fort Royal Bay:

Asia . . .	64	Capt. John Brown.
Santa Marguita .	36	Eliab Harvey.
Assurance . .	44	Velters Cornwall Berkeley.
Ceres . .	32	Richard Incledon.
Roebuck, Hospital-ship . .		Andrew Christie.

ARMY.

Two detachments of Dragoons; three battalions of Grenadiers; three battalions of Light Infantry. Regiments, 6th, 9th, 15th, 39th, 43rd, 56th, 58th, 64th, 65th, 70th; detachments from 2nd, 21st, and 60th.

The troops were divided into three brigades, commanded by, 1st, Lieutenant-General Prescott; 2nd, Major-General Dundas; 3rd, Major-General H. R. H. Duke of Kent. Total force embarked, 6085 men; but of these 1200 were left sick at Barbadoes.

Sir John Jervis hoisted the flag of a Vice-Admiral of the Blue on the 3rd of October; his flag-captain was the son of the general commanding the troops, Captain George Grey; from thenceforth associated with his patron's services, and with his affection to the latest hour of his life. Of all the principal naval officers whom Sir John selected, it has been found impossible to offer a list; but, continuing to note the first appearances, when they are known, of his favourites; now is to be remarked, that the afterwards distinguished Sir Edward Berry's name first occurs; and even his manner of joining foretold his future efficiency. While the Boyne lay at Spithead, ready, and on the point of going to sea, Mr. Berry returned

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from a long absence in the West Indies. Hearing of this expedition, and "being sure"—his own words are cited—"that if he had any merit in him, this admiral was the one who would discover it," he applied to serve under his flag; and his request being granted, being an officer instantly ready for whatever kind of duty, he immediately went on board, and sailed again without setting foot on shore. The clear-sighted and intrepid midshipman of the Foudroyant, Mr. Bowen, was one of the Boyne's lieutenants, and was to gather fresh laurels. The appointment of another previous follower, Mr. Bayntun, had been preceded by a trifle, which even now it is difficult to recollect without a smile. On the first report of Sir John Jervis being about to hoist his flag, Mr. Bayntun applied to rejoin him; and daily watching the post for his reply, one morning he was astounded that it should be this rather chuffish note:

SIR,

You having thought fit to take to yourself a wife, are to look for no further attentions from

Your humble servant, J. JERVIS.

Now, marriage most assuredly was, in Sir John Jervis' naval code, *the* nautical misdemeanour; officers intending it he would call "moonstruck." But while loftier annals than these are alone fit to record how truly worthy, as a hero, Mr. Bayntun was of his great patron; here it may be permitted to tell, how singularly similar, in their most sage principles of being wedded only to their profession, and how equal in unconquerable valour in maintain-

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ing them these mighty men were. Mr. Bayntun too was fated to be smitten, and transgress. As yet, however, being only an officer after his admiral's own heart, and not yet a lunatic, his reply, in "all astonishment," that any one could imagine him capable of the crime, was, as has been since ascertained from himself, "a request to know who could have so traduced him, and injured him in Sir John's opinion; for that he abhorred the idea as much as Sir John did." And this was couched in language showing that he was but in right earnest in his protestations, and alarmed at his peril. Explanations followed; letters had been misdirected by Lady Jervis; and the officer, who had received the favourable answer intended for Mr. Bayntun, was obliged to exchange it for the discouraging *coup*, to which he had rendered himself liable.

It was January 1794 before the expedition reached Barbadoes. The voyage out had not been marked by anything striking, unless an occurrence in the Zebra be thought so; at all events, it was an early intimation of the sort of officer that commanded her, and of the courage by which Captain Robert Faulknor was to shed glory over a profession, in which he must ever be one of the brilliant stars. Circumstances had separated the Zebra from the rest of the squadron; and while she pursued her course alone, a ship was one afternoon descried, whom nothing could induce to show any national colours. Immediate pursuit was therefore made. The chase shortened sail, and was soon ascertained to be a man-of-war; and when the evening closed in,

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was about three miles distant. Captain Faulknor ordered his sloop to be cleared for action; and running her close alongside a Dutch frigate of twenty-eight guns, he instantly jumped on board her, followed by his officers and boarders. Doubtless the unprepared Dutchmen were astonished at this; for being at peace with England, they did not anticipate it. Explanations and shaking hands soon followed, and the loss of a few spars was all the damage done; but the Zebra's crew saw at once the daring of the officer who commanded them, and what they might expect, if enterprise offered.

Immediately on the squadron's arrival at Barbadoes, and while preparations for an attack on Martinique were proceeding, proclamations were circulated, through the Islands urging, on liberal terms, the reception of the British forces. When this was not favourably entertained, resort to the sword was unavoidable; and everything being ready, the expedition advanced.

The plan was, that to divide the enemy's force, the island should be simultaneously attacked at three places, distant from each other; at Trinité, by Major-General Dundas, assisted by Commodore Thompson; at Case Navire by Colonel Sir Charles Gordon (who commanded before the arrival of the Duke of Kent), assisted by Captain Rogers, in the Quebec; and at Trois Rivières, by General Sir Charles Grey, with whom Sir John Jervis co-operated. The enemy's defence was, to make what opposition they could on the forts on the shores; and if compelled to abandon them, to concentrate

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his whole force in Forts Louis and Bourbon, which protected Port Royal, the chief town of the island.

On the 5th February the Boyne anchored in Marin Bay, and a flag of truce, summoning a surrender, was immediately sent in. By, as the French alleged, a mistake, the white flag was fired upon; so the troops were immediately embarked in the flat boats, and proceeded to the shore. The forts opened a heavy and, while it lasted, a destructive fire upon them; but this having been silenced by the guns from the Boyne and Veteran, the disembarkation was effected. The enemy then retired rapidly, leaving a lighted train, to explode the magazine and blow up the assailants; but this was happily extinguished, and cheers from the ships soon afterwards hailed the first display of the British flag on the island. Two days afterwards, a second summons to surrender having failed, Sir Charles Grey himself landed, conducting a force of 2400 bayonets; but before them General Rochambeau hastily retreated; and destroying all the houses and farms in his march, threw himself, with all the force he could collect, into Fort Bourbon. Sir Charles Grey continued to advance. From Trois Revières his toilsome march was against Fort Sallée, higher up in the bay, when it was arranged that Sir J. Jervis, in the Boyne, should meet him. The army destroyed several smaller forts, which opposed; but as Pigeon Island, so long as it was in the enemy's possession, was a powerful obstacle to the ships entering the bay, Brigadier General Whyte, with a detachment of 200 seamen, under Captains Grey and Nugent,

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were directed to take possession of the heights of Maturin, which commanded it.

An effort was made by some of the seamen to pull some of the Boyne's guns up the acclivity, but they were unequal to the task. The shells from the island too severely annoyed them; so having carried ammunition to the soldiers, they were compelled to content themselves with storming the height at the point of the bayonet; after which they returned with her guns to the ship.

On the same night that Mount Maturin was taken, the army, with almost incredible toil, erected fresh batteries over the island, and by daybreak the guns were pointed. The fleet had by this time taken up a station close to the forts, and the attack was commenced. But it lasted only two hours: the enemy then surrendered unconditionally; and thus the whole bay being open to the squadron, Sir Charles Grey was able to move his forces to Bruno, where it had been concerted a conjunction should be formed with the division under Major-General Dundas, that a vigorous attack might be made on the neighbouring forts of Pierre, from which, as the last impediment to investing Fort Bourbon, an obstinate resistance was anticipated.

While matters, under the immediate command of Sir Charles Grey, were thus proceeding, the divisions under Colonel Sir Charles Gordon and Major-General Dundas were equally successful. Sir Charles Gordon, indeed, did not find much, only one fort's opposition to establishing himself within a mile of Fort Bourbon; but General Dundas met hard

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fighting, both on the beach and from the forts. Captain Faulknor led this squadron into Gallion Bay, placing his sloop, to the admiration of every one, as close alongside the chief battery as water would permit, and then poured in a fire from her guns, to which only the charge of bayonets from the troops was equal in effect.

The French were, as they always are, lavish of their blood and life, and fought desperately; but at length the beach was gained. The forts were not carried without a still more desperate struggle. Had the French general reserved his brave soldiers till he could use their courage to defend the fortified heights and mountain passes between the shore and Forts Louis, he might have made a far more serious opposition; but, being otherwise directed, he retreated to the chief fortress; and thus an outwork to it, called Rosa, and the difficulty of an intervening marsh, were the sole remaining impediments to the commencement of the siege. These were but temporary obstacles; fatigue was more destructive of the English soldiers and sailors, who were not yet inured to the tropical heats and rains, than the storm of the outwork: and when it was in their possession, Forts Louis and Bourbon alone remained to be reduced. But in them the whole force of the enemy was now concentrated, for their utmost resistance; the places were therefore invested, and all the operations of a regular siege commenced. Now, too, the other British divisions were arrived, the squadron had rejoined the flag, and both sides made their best preparations.

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Just as the British troops broke ground, and erected batteries on the first parallel, His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, arriving from Canada, assumed his command; and to His division, the planting of batteries against the northeast of the fortress was assigned.

While the troops were occupied in building forts, and digging trenches, the ships bombarded, and landed heavy artillery and the stores for a siege. As soon as the ammunition was all on shore, a party of three hundred seamen, under Captain Grey, were sent to co-operate with the engineers, and to drag four of the heaviest guns towards a mountain called Sounier, on which it was of the utmost importance to plant them, because the height commanded the hostile forts, and had also the range upon the French division under General Bellegarde, who was posted in the valley below.

There is authority for saying, that the efforts which, though not on their own element, those indefatigable seamen made, quite astonished the army. The entire distance over which they had to drag their guns exceeded five miles, of which many parts were commanded by the enemy's fire. For more than a mile a road was yet to be entirely made, and through a thick wood; from thence a swamp of heavy clay led to mountain heights which hardly the mule could ascend; at last was to be passed a wide torrent four feet deep, of which the banks were to be levelled; and all this during unceasing torrents of tropical rain, and under a heavy fire from the forts; yet, on the evening of the third

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day, the work was done, and the guns were pointed.*

By the 15th of March everything was ready for the cannonade; A summons to surrender was answered by a powerful sortie, which was repulsed by the third battalion of light infantry, and a party of sailors under Captain Faulknor. On the 17th, the

* It was about this period that Lieutenant Bartholomew James took such a quaint mode of settling a slight misunderstanding between himself and his men, as to the kind of service which it behoved them to render.

So universally did Sir John Jervis stimulate all ranks to exertion, that the crews of the hired transports were occupied, not only in their peculiar duties, the landing of artillery and stores; but occasionally, in transporting their guns to the heights. Among the "agents for transports," as the officers commanding them were then denominated, Lieutenant James was remarkable for his zeal and activity; and if an occasion of difficulty and enterprise presented itself, he was sure to be the ready volunteer. But the sailors he commanded, being only in private employ, and for a particular and limited service, and therefore not entitled to pension and compensation for wounds, were insensible to the glorious advantages or pleasures of gratuitous and extra exertions which might put their lives in imminent jeopardy; and they frequently complained of the manner in which their agent exposed them. At length an anonymous representation against the officer reached the Admiral, who sent for Mr. James, and with assumed seriousness communicated the charge.

With evident contempt for his accusers, Mr. James protested, that he never had placed his men in danger unless the nature of the service rendered it unavoidable, nor without sharing it himself; and he was proceeding to vindicate himself more particularly, when the Admiral cut the matter short by putting the document into his hands, desiring to have a written explanation; and then drily pointed out the spot whither it was desired to get a twenty-four-pounder gun mounted. Delighted to be released, the lieute-

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bombardment continued; and on the afternoon of that day, a very gallant effort was made by Lieutenant Bowen, of the Boyne, to rescue some English sailors whom report stated to be confined in the Bien Venue, a large frigate which the enemy had chain-moored high up in the roadstead. The fear was, that the fire from our batteries, in the intended

nant hurried away to comply with the hint, and the heavy gun was landed and advanced with the usual celerity. It has been seen that the parties dragging these guns had to cross openings of which the enemy had found the range; and one of the most exposed places was a spot which Mr. James considered favourable for entering into the subject of the complaint. So, as if suddenly recollecting the Admiral's orders, he there halted his people, and with all simplicity told them, that while they took a little rest, he would read aloud an accusation which some infamous fellow had made against himself; adding, that he was surprised that there was any complaints at all; but desiring also that any one who had aught to say, would at once come boldly forward and avow it; and then he very deliberately proceeded to read the letter. But at a stationary body of men, of course the enemy fired; and while the lieutenant was reading, whiz flew a shot over his party's heads. In an instant the transport's people were quite refreshed, and ready to proceed. But this Mr. James refused, preferring first to finish what he had in hand; and there he kept them, till he had been assured by every man, individually, that he had no participation in the complaint. Fortified with this triumphant answer for his Admiral, he again put his party in motion, and the gun advanced rapidly.

When this was related to Sir John Jervis he was greatly amused; but nevertheless, judging it expedient to place Mr. James in a position where his enterprising spirit might be more lawfully indulged, he selected him for one of the lieutenants of the flag-ship, and shortly after promoted him to the rank of Commander; when, as is well-known, Captain James' services in the Rover, fully justified the admiral's discrimination.

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assault on the forts and frigate, might kill some of our countrymen; Mr. Bowen, therefore, generously volunteered to rescue them. A division of boats was entrusted to his gallantry. It was yet broad daylight when he made his attack, and the enemy perceiving his approach, coolly tried the range. The instant the boats were within their reach, a blaze of fire poured down upon them, from all the forts, and from the frigate. But Mr. Bowen's was courage not to be impeded. The frigate was boarded, and her captain, officers, and most of her crew were made prisoners; it was however ascertained that no English were on board; and as the ship was chain-moored, and her sails unbent, it was impossible to carry her out of the harbour; so Mr. Bowen returned to the Boyne, taking his prisoners with him.

So inspirited were the forces by this gallant exploit, that it was determined immediately to follow it up, and that on the following day the combined assault should be made on the forts themselves.

The ships ordered to co-operate were the Asia, 64, and the Zebra, assisted by the armed boats of the fleet. The Zebra, with bamboo scaling ladders triced up to her shrouds, was ordered to lead in; and, at the signal, both ships got under weigh. But what the immediate sequel was, it is felt that only an extract from Mr. Cooper Williams' narrative may venture to relate:

The Zebra led in towards the mouth of the harbour, receiving the fire of grape and round without returning a shot. The Asia had gotten within range of grape-shot, when, to the surprise of every one, she wore round, and

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made sail from the fort. The admiral had previously made the signal to the rest of the fleet, to second the attempt of these two ships, by loosing the topsail of the Boyne and lying at signal anchor, ready to slip and run in. On perceiving that the Asia failed in her attempt, and supposing, that as she was under heavy fire from the forts, either Captain Brown was killed, or some other desperate accident happened, he instantly despatched Captain George Grey to take command of the Asia, and if he could not get her in, to run her aground under the walls of the fort. Captain Grey soon returned and brought the pleasing intelligence that not a man was hurt on board the Asia. She then stood in again, and again put about, when near the mouth of the harbour, and sailed from it. *

The unshaken courage of one officer supplied the place of a line-of-battle ship. On the first unexpected failure by the Asia; Captain Faulknor, though within musket-shot of the forts, lay to; and notwithstanding a heavy fire of every kind, not a shot did he return. But when he perceived the disinclination of the Asia to take her station, that he was to expect no assistance from her, and that his men were falling fast; disheartened by no desertion, he dropped his foresail, and making sail straight to the fort, he laid his little sloop as close under the guns as the water allowed, to within fifteen feet of the wall. In an instant the scaling-ladders flew from the rigging, the boats towed astern became the bridge, and Captain Faulknor headed his boarders over the parapet into the fort;† while the armed boats under

* Rev. Cooper Williams' Narrative, p. 67.

† For the facts here stated I am indebted to the Admiral Sir Henry Hill, then Captain Faulknor's second-lieutenant, and to the

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Captains Nugent and Riou dashed across the bay to support this heroic attack. Having mounted the walls, the assailants found themselves on the covered way between the outer and inner gates, and that a whole French regiment, the 35th, awaited their approach. A terrible discharge of musketry thinned the number of the British sailors, but nothing could withstand such courage as this; the enemy was charged, and the whole regiment laying down their arms, Captain Faulknor led his men still forwards. Forcing their way through the iron gates, they soon gained the top of the citadel; the French colours were struck, and the English hoisted, amidst the shouts of triumph from the armed boats, from the squadron, and from the army, which thus announced its arrival outside. The British ensign being displayed over the fort; Captain Faulknor sent his second-lieutenant (the present Admiral Sir Henry) Hill, to the casemates, where the officers' families, the sick and the wounded were, to assure them of protection; and after that, Mr. Hill had the proud duty of letting down the draw-bridge to the Commander-in-chief of the army. Possession being made secure of the fort and of the frigate in the roadstead, Captain Faulknor returned to his ship, taking with him between 100 and 200 of the regiment that surrendered at his assault; and the tide now beginning to flow, the Zebra was gotten afloat, and sail made towards the squadron.

Her main-top-mast had been shot away; so the

late gallant General Sir Rufane Donkin, who also served in the expedition.

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little sloop stood under the Admiral's stern under her fore and mizen top-sails, greeted by the cheers of the Boyne's ship's company, their band also playing "The Conquering Hero."

But for Captain Faulknor himself, further honours were already prepared. The delight with which Sir John Jervis had witnessed his intrepid exploit was enthusiastic, and determining to mark his admiration of it, he did so by one of those happy compliments, so peculiar to himself, by which he so often practically encouraged to brilliant conduct. The signal being made to the Zebra, for her captain; when he was seen approaching in his boat, Sir John ordered the Boyne's hands to be turn-up, assembled all her officers, and placing himself at their head, he greeted the hero, at his first step on the Boyne's quarter-deck, with a commission promoting him to Post rank, addressing him, "Captain Faulknor, by your daring courage this day, a French frigate has fallen into our hands. I have ordered her to be taken into our service; and here is your commission to command her, in which I have named her after yourself, Sir, The Undaunted." *

Upon the success of this assault the French General Rochambeau sent in a flag of truce, and terms of capitulation of the island were soon arranged. The whole of Sir John Jervis' despatch announcing it, will follow this chapter; and while it is somewhat remarkable that all that striking passage within

* Never should the British navy be without an "Undaunted," whose figure-head should exhibit Captain Faulknor's handsome bust.

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inverted commas, which so graphically depicts the Commander-in-chief, and his promptitude in rewarding gallantry, was omitted by the Admiralty from the extracts sent to the Gazette; it is necessary to notice, that it was for his conduct *at St. Pierre* that thanks were expressed to Captain Brown of the Asia, Sir John being too courteous altogether to omit the name of an officer against whom the circumstances of the moment induced forbearance to proceed. It is also pleasing to observe the highbred courtesy with which, throughout the whole letter, the writer, a sailor, gives the army precedence to the force under his own command;—a compliment quite characteristic of his gentlemanly mind.

Thus was Martinique taken; and a force being left in garrison, the expedition proceeded against St. Lucie. The island was soon reduced; the disembarkation, however, was resisted with sufficient obstinacy to make it necessary that the ships should fire upon the forts, and the troops use the bayonet. When the beach was gained, some batteries, outworks of Morne Fortunée, the chief fort of the island, were stormed, and the fort itself regularly invested; but when counter-batteries commanding it were erected, and preparations for assault were arranged, the French generals capitulated on the same terms as at Martinique.

Leaving a garrison in St. Lucie, and having by a small detachment reduced the Saintes, the Commanders-in-chief next proceeded against Guadaloupe, wherein the enemy had collected all his remaining forces, and where the greatest resistance was, and as

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it proved rightly, anticipated. The Boyne, with the Veteran, Winchelsea, Blanche, and Zebra, taking with them all the troops which could be spared, anchored off the batteries at Grozier; and while the Winchelsea silenced their fire, the troops and 400 seamen, under Captains Grey and Faulknor, were landed. On the following morning the forts were attacked. The assaulting force was in three divisions. The Duke of Kent led the first against Fort Marcot, Major-General Dundas the second against Fort d'Epée; the third was to support whichever might need it. At five, the concerted hour, a gun from the Boyne sounded the signal to advance. In an instant the heights swarmed with the stormers. The troops rushed to the gates of Marcot, the sailors made to the embrasures themselves, into which most of them recklessly jumped, and where many of those brave fellows fell; the struggle, while it lasted, was terrific, and on both sides the loss of life very great, for the ground was disputed inch by inch; indeed, it was doubtful who would keep it, until the third division coming up decided the day; but then the French gave way, overpowered by numbers, and leaping, as many as would dare it, over the walls, fled to the town of Point à Pitre, and the possession of both forts followed this success.

In the fight here it was, that just outside the gateway of Fort Marcot, the gallant Captain Faulknor so nearly terminated a brief and brave career. Ever first among the foremost, he grappled with a French officer, who proved too powerful an antagonist. In the struggle, Captain Faulknor was disarmed and

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thrown, and was on the point of receiving the fatal thrust from the enemy's sword, when—still brighter laurels awaiting his brow—the peril he now was in was perceived by one of the Blanche's quartermasters, who forced himself to the front, and with his boarding pike pinned the Frenchman to the earth; thus preserving the life of this "idol of the squadron,"* and "this admiration of the whole army,"† for his all-glorious death on his own element, while in the hottest of desperate battle, he was himself in the very act of a second time lashing the bowsprit of the enemy's frigate to the capstan of his own.

A regiment was left to garrison Point à Pitre, and the General embarked with the rest of the army in the Boyne and Veteran, to attack the forts in other parts of the island; those on the heights of Palmiste being the strongest hold. Sir Charles Grey conducted the operations; which were, that while the chain of batteries on the heights, extending above three miles, were stormed by the grenadier companies, under H. R. H. the Duke of Kent, and the light infantry under Colonel Coote, the remaining part of the force, under General Dundas, should attack the distant fortifications. The battery first carried being the highest, the grenadiers turned its guns on the forts, and victory was no longer doubtful, though it was not gained until General Dundas formed a junction with his detachment; but then the French General surrendered, on the same terms as were granted at Martinique and

* According to Sir John Jervis' description of him.

† According to Sir Charles Grey's description.

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St. Lucie; and thus the conquest of the islands was completed.

These operations extended to the end of April; and thus, in a campaign of scarcely more than three months, all the main objects of the expedition had been accomplished; and Sir John Jervis was able to inform the Admiralty "that all the French islands in those seas were reduced."

But that these important successes were gained by forces in number comparatively so short of the service assigned to them, is not to be attributed to only the skill of the commanders, and the valour of those under them; many other conjoint expeditions, equally strong in similar power, have been far less successful, because they lacked that indispensable requisite to complete efficiency, the invigorating strengthener of this,—a harmony of good feeling and courtesy between the naval and military forces. On no one occasion for a single moment was there the slightest misunderstanding between the Commanders-in-chief; nay, more, "Neither of us," spake a letter from the Admiral, when in after years he was testifying his affection for Sir Charles Grey, and admiration of his talents and character, "neither of us wrote a letter on service to the other during the whole campaign." How the influence of amity and concord must extend from so high a source throughout all subordinate ranks; and how by cordially combining, it facilitates the development of the energies of both services, it is superfluous to mention.*

* This assertion of the good feeling between our naval and military force of the expedition is made notwithstanding the

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There being now no prospect of any more fighting in the Indian seas, H. R. H. the Duke of Kent

publication elsewhere of an order from General Prescott upon the trivial, and it is believed the only, misunderstanding. This order ran, "Whereas Vice-Admiral Sir John Jervis has given orders frequently on shore here, and particularly in a note dated Boyne, off Point à Pitre, June 11, which must have arisen either from great ignorance or great presumption and arrogance; if from ignorance, poor man, he is to be pitied, but if from great presumption and arrogance, to be checked; it is therefore Lieutenant-General Prescott's orders, that, in future, no attention is to be given to such notes or orders, and his signature to be as little regarded as those of John Nokes and Peter Styles." Now, publicity having been given to this, it is thought necessary to account for it, which can be done upon the authority of a military officer, of high and distinguished rank, the late Sir Rufane Donkin, who was there an eye-witness on the spot. One afternoon Sir John Jervis saw some sailors just taken into military custody for intoxication, and being anxious to get them on board, he wrote a "request" to the officer commanding the guard, to hand them over to him, promising immediately to send them off. With this request from the Admiral the officer complied, but his representing it to the General as a "command," occasioned the above extraordinary order.

This note may as well notice another circumstance attending the conquest of these islands, before the subject is quitted. In rendering their services, Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey did not escape annoyance from the mercantile community, both native and foreign, of the islands, who complained of arrangements, either necessary from the circumstances of the campaign, or just by the laws of war. First, on account of some American vessels detained on suspicion of assisting the enemy. The measure was quite necessary and justifiable; for when the regular legal process was instituted against them in the proper court, they were condemned, and there was no appeal against the judgment. But on their loss in consequence of it, the baffled ship-owners excited a mighty hubbub in the United States, whose Representative

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returned to Canada, to resume active services, war having there broken out afresh; and the Com-

in England was instructed to make his formal remonstrances. As not seldom happens from that region, they came in vast importance and noisy pother, and then vanished in air. The British ministry directed a "strict investigation," and it was proved that the American trader and the Republican Frenchman were, to use the language which Sir John Jervis quoted from their own letters, "one and indivisible." The American minister withdrew his representation.

After that, came the clamour of some English merchants, whose property in the island was compelled to bear the just, and no more than the just, proportion of the moderate contribution, paid in lieu of the general confiscation, which the conquerors, having possessed themselves of the island by assault of arms, might have lawfully enforced, and with summary measures too, had they so chosen. Long before hostilities commenced, the Commanders-in-chief issued joint proclamations, into the nature of which, beyond that they contained an acknowledgment of British sovereignty, it is not necessary to stop to inquire, for on that ground alone both the Proclamations, and the subsequent summons to surrender, were rejected; and the preceding, though very abridged narrative of the leading events of the campaign, is, nevertheless, sufficient to show, that the force of war, generally the bayonet and boarding-pike, was the indispensable resort to reduce every island, almost every fort. On capture, a contribution, greatly below the visible value of the property liable to confiscation, was imposed on each island, and gladly accepted by the inhabitants, as that which was, the indisputable due of the conquerors. Nevertheless, two West India merchants, Messrs. Barham and Manning, moved a series of resolutions in the House of Commons, tantamount to a direct censure on such proceedings. The motion was opposed by Mr. (the present Earl) Grey, son of the commander-in-chief of the troops, by the minister, by Mr. Dundas, and by Sir William Scott. In the debate for such a cause, and against such talents, Messrs. Barham and Manning found themselves in disaster almost exciting pity; and their motion was rejected by a very large majority of all politi-

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manders-in-chief of the forces made a visit of inspection through the conquered islands, to ascertain their wants and capabilities, and to make the best garrison distribution of the troops which their reduced force enabled.

Grievously was now felt the insufficiency of their numbers. Very inadequate might the force in the outset have been pronounced for the variety of services required; and the losses by continued fighting and fatigues had considerably thinned their ranks. But now the yellow fever was dealing still greater destruction, both afloat and ashore; and thus the handful of garrisons, which alone could be afforded, were miserably insufficient, even supposing no foreign aggression should attempt to despoil them of their conquests; yet even now, if the promised rein-

cal parties. But what by its moral effect was ample to satisfy the feelings of the injured officers, did not content the indignant minister. Mr. Dundas moved a series of counter-resolutions, which, together with a confirmation of the thanks of the House, which had before been voted for the service performed, were carried by equally strong divisions, and thus the matter terminated.

In the absence of any means, official or private, of ascertaining what, after all, the mighty sum was, which fell to Sir John Jervis in this campaign, since there might be those who would imagine it enormous; and to show how the officer, sailor-like, dealt with his prize-money; it is due to him to resort to his letters to his secretary for information. Referring, in after days, to a published sketch of his services, he wrote, "You will find in the accompanying Magazine (the Nautical, 1805) a good print of me, but a very false account of my acquisition of wealth in the West Indies. For my expenses in entertaining the whole staff of the army on the passage out, and in going from island to island, *exceeded my gains.*"

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forcements under Admiral Gell had been sent, how incalculably valuable would they have been!

Before he could complete his tour of inspection, Sir John Jervis was attacked by the sickness under which so many around him succumbed; and he was obliged to stop at St. Christopher's; his life being in imminent danger, which any further exertion would fearfully increase. The exhaustion of continued labour, and fatigue in tropical heats and tropical rains, had before so prostrated his health that in April he had solicited a recall; and the Admiralty had responded to his appeal by a permission to retire; which it is scarcely known he ever received, because he forbore to avail himself of it. Now, however, in an immediate change of climate was his only prospect of recovery; and the service on which he was sent forth being accomplished, he was so near departure that the Boyne was at St. Christopher's, taking in her water for the voyage.

This was early in June. But suddenly a schooner from Guadaloupe brought urgent despatches for the Commanders-in-chief of both forces; and fortunately both the officers were on this island. Sir John Jervis at the moment lay ill in his cot, and was unable to quit it to receive the aide-de-camp; but before his interview with him had lasted many minutes, it was perceived to be of great importance; for the Boyne's watering was stopped, and she was ordered to get under weigh.

By those who are acquainted with our West Indian history, it is well known that, just as the hurricane season approached, when the troops were

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scattered among the islands, and the yellow fever was making its deadliest havoc among their already thinned ranks, and throughout the squadron, that active revolutionist and monster of cruelty, Victor Hughes, arrived at Guadaloupe from France, with a large force of fresh soldiers, and in healthy ships; that, proclaiming universal equality and freedom among that excitable, much to be pitied mass, the coloured population, and letting loose their wildest passions, he hurried them into the most violent outrages of maddened fury; that the excess of barbarous torture and wanton cold-blooded slaughter was unheard-of which he committed, on whomsoever of the former royalist inhabitants, even after conquest had recognised the government of the conquerors; and that of the English soldiery, not even the sick in the hospitals found mercy at his hands. The most insensible would shudder at a recital of the enormities which this wretch perpetrated; but no unjust idea would be formed of him, as the worthy emissary of the blood-stained French Republic, and the congenial friend and chosen instrument of Robespierre.

At the moment of his appearance, the yellow fever had just carried off Major-General Dundas. The command of Guadaloupe, therefore, devolved upon Colonel Blundell; and he despatched an aide-de-camp to announce that the enemy had landed at Grand Terre, in force far beyond any lengthened resistance; and that, after two unsuccessful efforts, they had possessed themselves of Fort Fleur d'Epée.

On the receipt of this intelligence, Sir John

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Jervis countermanded his return to England; and the Boyne was immediately gotten under weigh. Sir Charles Grey embarked in her; and taking with them the four ships of the squadron then at the island, and all the troops that could be collected, they sailed the same afternoon; orders were also despatched for all the force which the preservation of St. Lucie and Martinique could spare.

In the middle of June the Boyne returned to Grozier, the Winchelsea again swept the batteries, and a few days after, two gun-boats and some more troops arriving, dispositions were made to storm the captured forts. As, owing to some powerful batteries commanding the roadstead, which the active enemy had erected, the squadron was unable to take any share in the fight beyond landing a small party of seamen to support the assault, it is foreign to the subject of these memoirs to relate at length the attacks which were made and repeated, but, owing to inadequate force, unsuccessfully. The details are, moreover, admirably given in Mr. Cooper Williams' History of the Campaign. All the troops that could be collected were so few, and that few so sick and weakly, that they were wholly unequal to the effort; and when success was hopeless, they were withdrawn, to greater security, within the other forts; and the two Commanders-in-chief repaired, in the Boyne, to Martinique, where it now could be no longer delayed to lay the ship up, the hurricane season having quite set in.

It was at the second, but now unsuccessful fight

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at Grozier, that the gallant Captain Lewis Robertson, leading his party of seamen to support a charge by the 43rd, received his death wound. While cheering forwards his foremost men, and beseeching them to trust only to the bayonet and boarding-pike, he fell, shot through the heart, dead.

The language in which Sir John Jervis announced the loss was affecting: "The fate of Captain Robertson, who had highly distinguished himself, fills my mind with the deepest regret. He had long been a child of misfortune, though he possessed talents to merit every success and prosperity. As I am informed he has left a widow and infant family unprovided for, I beg leave to recommend them to the protection and good offices of their lordships, to obtain for them a suitable provision, which will be a powerful encouragement to officers in similar circumstances, to emulate so great an example."

Before the tempestuous period had terminated, news arrived at Martinique of further advances at Guadaloupe by the enemy, whom the sickly remnants of the British regiments had been unable to resist. Sir John Jervis returned to their succour as soon as the utmost exertion could get the ship to sea; but every effort which a squadron could make had no further success than to secure an honourable departure for our troops from the forts, then closely invested. Lamentable to say, it was not possible to provide for the royalist inhabitants being included in the capitulation; and they remained the defenceless unresisting victims of Victor

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Hughes' savage inhuman vengeance. They, to whom the mercy of death on the guillotine was refused, were all chained together in the Place d'Armes, and fired upon by the infuriated negro population, maddened by rum; and, after half an hour's such butchery, one grave in the ditch received the killed and wounded, together with even those who were not hit, and they were numerous.

But Sir John Jervis' services here approached their close. To resist still further advances by the enemy, neither the sickly skeletons of our regiments, nor, as against powerful well-placed fresh batteries, the greatest efforts of the squadron, were equal; and matters proceeded so far in disaster, that a summons to surrender his whole force was actually sent in to General Prescott. But on that, the gallant soldier indignantly retorted by a desperate sortie, and almost immediately after, a relief, at last, arrived. The Majestic, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Caldwell, with the Theseus and Bellona in company, announced that General Sir John Vaughan, at St. Pierre, had received the command of the troops from Sir Charles Grey, whose ill state of health compelled his returning to England, and that the Rear-admiral would take the whole squadron under his orders, should Sir John Jervis retire. Even had no successor arrived, any further service was now beyond the Admiral's power; his zeal, unabating in sickness, had borne him through fatigues far beyond prudence; nor can it be doubted that the mortification of seeing his trophies wrested from him, for want of troops to retain them, greatly aggravated his

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symptoms, which now urgently announced, that to seek a hope of recovery in departure from the climate, and from all exertion, or to sink under them, were his only and instant alternatives. Sir John thereupon availed himself of the permission which ever since May had been in his possession, to return to England. Sir Charles Grey embarked again in the Boyne, and she sailed in the end of November.

Sir John Jervis' first command in chief had in effect now terminated: it therefore would be very desirable to connect with his general conduct those peculiarities and incidents which so speakingly portray character; but owing to the loss of documents, and to distance of time, the information left is but scanty. It is known that, setting in his own person the example of great exactness of dress, he was very particular in requiring the officers under his command to wear the correct uniform as established by the Admiralty, and that no one, whatsoever his rank, could commit a breach of this with impunity. But Commodore, afterwards Sir Charles Thompson, was not only careless about the appearance of his officers, but would himself sometimes quit his ship in only a purser's duck frock or benger, and a common straw hat, a dress so nearly resembling the common seaman's that it was impossible to distinguish the officer or his rank.

In this attire, as the commodore was one morning going in his barge to bathe, he happened to pass near the stern of the flag ship. The Admiral was walking in his stern gallery; in an instant he

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recognised the Commodore; but, feigning ignorance, he hailed the boat:—"In the barge there! Go and assist in towing in that transport:" for there then happened to be one shifting her berth in the calm. Captain Thompson at once felt the position in which he had placed himself, and received the gentle rebuke with as much tact as good humour. Standing up in his boat, and taking off his hat, he answered the order with the accustomed "Ay, ay, sir!" and proceeded to execute it.

Another of the Admiral's regulations was, that every officer going on duty to the flag-ship, should appear with the cocked hat and side arms. So also, that all subordinates, of whatever grade, when addressing or addressed by their superiors on service, should entirely remove the hat from the head, instead of "touching it flippantly," as Sir Jervis used to term it, to testify respect. That during the whole campaign he always, every single night, slept on board his ship, thereby enabling himself to pay constant personal attention, late and early, to whatever duty was going on, is perhaps nothing more than would have been accredited to his energetic spirit, entirely wrapped up in the service.

At the end of January, after a tedious and tempestuous voyage, the coast of Ireland was descried. This was an intimation to the returning Officers that soon they would take leave of each other; and it occasioned a last incident, of itself, indeed, one that was transient and light, but by inference such an additional testimony of the high-bred,

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gentlemanly feeling, and happy harmony between the naval and military services on this expedition, that an extract from a letter from an eye-witness, the late gallant General Sir Rufane Donkin to Dr. Baird, is offered to relate it:

TO DR. BAIRD.

Falhoden, near Alnwick, August 28, 1822.

DEAR SIR,

I have not had time till now to comply with your wish in giving you the particulars of what passed on board the Boyne in December 1794, between Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis. We had just made the coast of Ireland in our voyage from the West Indies, when, most of the company having left the admiral's table, except myself, the admiral, and the general, Sir Charles rose to go out on the quarter-deck, when Sir John stopped him as he passed his chair, and begged him to sit down while he proposed one toast, since they were in sight of land, and their united naval and military services at an end. Sir Charles Grey immediately sat down; when Sir John Jervis, taking him by the hand in the kindest manner, which was returned by a look and manner equally kind on the part of Sir Charles, said, "My dear Sir Charles, the toast I have to propose is one you will, I am sure, willingly drink; it is this: May the same cordiality and zealous co-operation in future exist in all the united operations of our army and navy, which has been so remarkably conspicuous in our late campaign, and which I attribute to a cause we both know and feel, to the warm friendship and mutual confidence which existed between us the Commanders,—a feeling which also pervaded every rank in both services."

Sir Charles Grey's answer was: "Indeed, my dear Sir John, that is most true, and it is only in that way that our forces can prosper when acting together." There was

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a tone and manner about this whole thing which no description can convey. Every word and every look evinced the warmest friendship, and the sincerest conviction. They both immediately rose, and the Admiral retired to his private cabin, and Sir Charles went out on the quarter-deck, both evidently much affected.

Believe me, my dear Sir, most faithfully yours,

R. DONKIN.

The Boyne in a few days anchored at Plymouth, and then proceeded to Spithead to be paid off. Before the flag was struck, an accident set her on fire, and the noble ship was entirely consumed. Everything Sir John Jervis had in her, and very nearly the whole of his correspondence to that period, was destroyed; and thus was occasioned the first great loss to these pages of that contribution to biography which most authentically exhibits a great man, and which no unskilfulness of his biographer can disfigure.

TO PHILIP STEVENS, ESQ.

Boyne, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, 25th March, 1794.

SIR,

My letter to you of the 16th inst., by the Roebuck packet, a duplicate of which is enclosed, has made the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty acquainted with the operations of the siege until that date. I have now the pleasure to communicate, for their Lordships' further information, that the battery on Point Carrière, which forms the east side of the Carénage, opened at daylight on the 17th, and, with the gun-boats, kept an incessant fire on Fort St.

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Louis, while the gun and mortar-batteries on the heights played on Fort Bourbon; Lieutenant Bowen, of the Boyne, who had commanded the night-guard and gun-boats for a considerable time, perceiving a favourable moment, pushed into the Carénage with the rowing-boats of the guard, boarded the Bien Venue French frigate, and brought off the captain, lieutenant, and about twenty men who were on board her, under a smart fire of grape-shot and musketry from the ramparts and parapet of the forts. The success of this gallant action determined the General and me to attempt the fort and town of Fort Royal by assault; and I directed forty scaling-ladders to be made of bamboo and small stretched cordage, from twenty to thirty-six feet long, and ordered the Asia and Zebra to be held in readiness to enter the Carénage, in order to batter the fort and to cover the flat-boats, barges, and pinnaces, under the command of Commodore Thompson, supported by Captains Nugent and Riou, while the grenadiers, and light infantry from the camp at Souriere, advanced with field-pieces alongside of the hill under Fort Bourbon, towards the bridge, over a canal at the back of Fort Royal. This combination succeeded in every part, except the entrance of the Asia, which failed for want of precision in the ancient Lieutenant of the port, M. de Tourelles, who had undertaken to pilot her. Captain Faulknor, observing that ship baffled in her attempts, and the Zebra having been under a shower of grape-shot for a great length of time, which he, his officers, and sloop's company, stood with a firmness not to be described, determined to undertake the service alone, and he executed it with matchless intrepidity and conduct; running the Zebra close to the wall of the fort, and leaping overboard at the head of his sloop's company, he assailed and took that important post before the boats could get on shore, although they rowed with all the force and animation which characterises English seamen in the face of an enemy. No language of mine can express the merit of Captain Faulknor

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upon the occasion, but as every officer and man in the army and squadron bears testimony to it, this incomparable action cannot fail of being recorded in the page of history. "It was my duty to reward it at the instant, which I did "by purchasing the French frigate, and giving him the rank "of Post-Captain in her, naming her the 'Undaunted.' "Lieutenant Bowen succeeds him in the command of the "Zebra, and Lieutenant Fahie, of whose bravery Captain "Faulknor spoke in high terms, fills Mr. Bowen's vacancy "in the Boyne. I have also given a master's warrant to "the mate, and warrants to the boatswain's, gunner's, and "carpenter's mates of the Zebra, who are reported to have "distinguished themselves highly." The grenadiers and light infantry made good use of their field-pieces and muskets, and soon after the surrender of the fort took possession of the town by the bridge over the canal at the back of it; while a strong detachment from the naval battalions at Point Negro, under the command of Captains Rogers, Scott, and Bayntun, in flat boats, barges, and pinnaces, approached the beach in front. M. Rochambeau did not lose a moment, in requesting that commissioners might be appointed to consider of terms of surrender; and the General and I named Commodore Thompson, Colonel Symes, and Captain Conyngham, to meet three persons named by him, at Dillon Plantation, at nine on the 21st; and on the 22nd the terms were concluded.

The rapid success of his Majesty's arms has been produced by the high courage and perseverance of His officers, soldiers, and seamen, in the most difficult and toilsome labours, which nothing short of the perfect unanimity and affection between them and their Chiefs could have surmounted. "The very small naval force given to me for "this service afforded occasions for every individual in the "squadron to distinguish himself. Such patience and per-"severance in the arduous task of dragging guns, mortars, "and howitzers through the most rugged and difficult roads,

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" and such cool courage when exposed to the shot and shell " of the enemy, I never witnessed." Commodore Thompson conducted the enterprize on the side of La Trinité like an able and judicious officer. Captain Henry carried on the business at Ance d'Arlet with great energy, and has been indefatigable in forwarding all the operations he had a share in. To Captains Brown, Nugent, Harvey, Markham, Faulknor, Sawyer, Carpenter, and Scott, I am greatly indebted for the manner in which they conducted the attack against St. Pierre. Captains Harvey, Kelly, Rogers, Salisbury, Incledon, Riou, Lord Garlies, Carpenter, Scott, and Bayntun, have gained great reputation in the army by their conduct of the naval battalions and working parties under their command. Captain Berkeley, since the arrival of the Assurance, has furnished a powerful reinforcement of men from that ship. Captain Pierrepoint has been very active in the service allotted to the Seaflower. In Captain Grey I have found the experience of age, joined to the vigour of youth. The Captains of the forty-four-gun ships armed *en flute*, of the store-ship, and hospital-ship have done well.

" I have appointed Captain Salisbury Captain of the port, " and Superintendent of the civil department of the marine " at Fort Royal and at St. Pierre; for which essential trust " his talents are in a very uncommon degree adapted. I " have also appointed Mr. Day (the clerk of the delivery " sent by the Navy Board in the Dromedary) Naval-officer. " Mr. John Harris (master of the Boyne) master-attendant, " and Mr. Alexander Norvell (carpenter of the Boyne) mas- " ter-shipwright; and I verily believe fitter men for these " appointments cannot be found on earth or sea. The island, " which from its situation, fortifications, numerous bays, " harbours, and rivers, in whosoever's hands it ultimately " remains, must be the emporium of the West Indies, and " command all the other islands. The bay of Fort Royal, " including that of Lamartin, will contain the whole shipping " of Great Britain, and the latter is a safe anchorage during

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"the hurricane months. Fort Royal will admit ships of "any size, and the public buildings for the use of the "marine are ample, I have therefore directed the stores in "the Dromedary and Aurora to be deposited there."

For other particulars I beg to refer their lordships to Captain Paulet, who carries this despatch, and to Captain Markham of the Blonde, who conveys him. They served with Commodore Thompson at La Trinité, and arrived at the south side of the island in time to have a share in most of the transactions. "Captain Markham's long and good "services need no comment, and Captain Paulet is a plant "of promise, or I am much mistaken. I have greatly to "lament that their delicate health deprives their King and "Country of further services from them in this climate."

I am, &c. J. JERVIS.

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CHAPTER VI.

Sir John Jervis appointed to command the Mediterranean fleet.—The question of naval jurisdiction over troops serving as marines.—Sir John Jervis blockades Toulon.

SIR JOHN JERVIS had not much repose on his return from the West Indian campaign. His flag in that command ceased to fly in February; in August, long before he had recovered the effects of his fatigues in a sickly climate, to his surprise, he was summoned to the Admiralty, to receive instructions for immediate service. He is now to appear in a command of that national importance, exalted consequence, and weighty responsibility, which demanded the highest order of qualifications in an Admiral.

The historical period approached is that in which the Directory of France, having determined on a great effort to recover national confidence, which reverses in Germany and in the Vendée had well nigh extinguished, decided on becoming the assailant. A foreign aggression was resolved upon, which might at once divert the popular attention from internal sources of discontent, and give distant employment to the army. Italy, therefore, was selected for an attack of retribution on Austria.

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Large bodies of troops had been already cantoned along the Mediterranean coasts, and the revolutionary emissaries having successfully disseminated their principles, as the forerunner of their armies, since no better excuse for invasion existed to justify an occupation of the Papal territories, resort was had to the murder of the ambassador Basseville, which happened at Rome three years before.

So far to co-operate with the Allies as to offer all naval opposition to this invasion, and to support the neutrality of the different Italian states, was alike England's best interest, and her obligation by treaty; and the British fleet was now about to commence that resistance to the unprincipled power of France, and to the unbridled ambition of Buonaparte, which England was destined to make successfully, while sooner or later in their turn, all other empires succumbed.

While this storm collected its rage in the south, political changes at home had placed Lord Spencer at the administration of the Navy; and precisely at this most critical period, the eyes of all Europe being directed to this region of the war, his Lordship was called upon to select a Commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean fleet; Lord Hood having already relinquished, alleging the inadequacy of the force to be afforded to him, Sir Charles Hotham's wretched health making his recal unavoidable.

All rational men are now fully agreed, that, to say nothing of the almost insuperable pressure of party ties, and party claims, the system generally most conducive to the public weal is, that the exe-

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cutive officer be of kindred political sympathies to the responsible minister. But it is no less true, that the too frequent and baneful effect of party, is, to deny the existence of the emergency, which, when it does arrive, demands a disregard of political opinions, in order that professional supereminence be procured.

At no period of our naval history had the party-bias of officers been more jealously considered by the Cabinet in the choice of those whom it would submit to the King for commands-in-chief, than during Mr. Pitt's administration. Before he sailed to the West Indies, Sir John Jervis had firmly attached himself to that section which designated this war as "unnecessary, impolitic, lamentable." On his return, he immediately resumed his station of consequence among those great men, then in violent opposition; he moreover could not but keenly feel the coolness with which the ministry at first supported, and afterwards treated his services with Sir Charles Grey, in their West Indian campaign, over which, to use the language of Lord Lansdowne, "it was thought proper to throw a veil, as if they had performed no service at all, because, what they had the zeal and ability to take, the Minister had not had the skill to defend." * It does, therefore, as manifestly indicate the high consideration, as a consummate Flag-officer, to which Sir John Jervis had already raised himself, that when he obeyed the summons to the Admiralty he was informed that

* Parl. Hist. xxxi, p. 1417.

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his name had been submitted to and approved of by the King to command the Mediterranean fleet, as it redounds to the credit of Lord Spencer, that the spirit of party did not warp his judgment, but that when the crisis was come requiring a sacrifice of political feeling, probably too of political support, he acknowledged pre-eminence, showing how highly he was worthy of the trust his country had reposed on him. Nor would it be just to Lord Hugh Seymour, then a member of the Board of Admiralty, that the meed of merit for the share he took in this appointment should be withholden from his Lordship's memory. As early as May, on the announcement of Sir Charles Hotham's illness, thus his Lordship had addressed Lord Spencer:—"I therefore cannot help wishing that Sir John Jervis' talents as a sea officer may strike you so forcibly as may lead you to call upon his services in case of Hotham's health obliging him to return to England. I am persuaded that an officer of that calibre only is fit to be entrusted now with the charge of the Mediterranean fleet, which must fall into the hands of one of our oldest Admirals." And on the 28th of July 1795: "I regret that Hotham, who was on many accounts so well qualified to command in the Mediterranean, finds himself obliged to solicit his recal; and the same idea makes me most anxious to remind you of Sir John Jervis' powers to fill that station, with advantage to the country and with honour to himself, if the French should really mean to try their force in that part of the world. I am aware of the answer which would be made by many

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of the ministry on this occasion . . . . He is certainly an officer of rare merit, and I think that he would do an honour to the minister who avails himself of his talents afloat, or I would not recommend him to you so earnestly."

Sir John Jervis was therefore appointed to this important command.

But before the narrative leads him from England, forbearance is craved for a short digression on a subject, which, though at that moment it materially affected the discipline of the British mán-of-war, yet, being now happily understood, would not have been mentioned here, had not the Officer whose life is related left his request, in a document of considerable weight, that publicity should be given to his sentiments and conduct on the occasion.

They who are at all acquainted with the progress of our military code of laws, are already aware that upon lieutenant —— of the — regiment, being arraigned before a naval court, for disrespect to Captain —— on board whose ship the lieutenant, with his company, served as marines, his sole defence was, that he was not answerable to a naval court; that the court overruled him, and proceeded; that the sentence of the court was dissallowed by the King in council, and by the Duke of York; and that in consequence an additional article of war for the army was prepared, and actually signed by George III. The article was promulgated from the Horse Guards, accompanied by the following hitherto unpublished, but most important, explanatory letter from the Commander-in-chief.

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ADDITIONAL ARTICLE OF WAR.

Whenever any of our forces shall be embarked on board Our ships of war, or any other ships, which may have been regularly commissioned by Us, and which may be employed in the transportation of Our troops, Our will and pleasure is, that the officers and soldiers of such forces, from the time of embarkation on board any ship as above described, shall strictly conform themselves to the laws and regulations, established for the government and discipline of the said ship, and shall consider themselves for these purposes, as under the command of the senior officer of the particular ship, as well as of the superior officer of the fleet (if any) to which such ship belongs.

CIRCULAR FROM THE DUKE OF YORK.

York House, 24th October, 1795.

SIR,

It having become absolutely necessary, for the good of the service in general, that certain and precise regulations should be formed, in order to maintain to its full extent the authority of the commanding officers of H.M. ships, in which troops may be embarked, I am commanded to acquaint you, that His Majesty, by virtue of the authority vested in Him by the Mutiny Act, has thought fit to make and establish an additional article of war, (a copy of which is hereunto annexed,) declaring that all officers and soldiers embarking in ships of war shall immediately thereupon become subject to the laws and regulations established for the government and discipline of the said ships; and shall consider themselves for these necessary purposes, as under the command of the senior officer of the particular ship in which they are embarked, as well as of the superior officer of the fleet (if any) to which the ship belongs.

It appearing at the same time, to be highly expedient that the troops should know how to conduct themselves

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in circumstances affecting their situation and discipline, while on board such ships, I have it further in command from His Majesty, to give you the following instructions, which you will impart to the senior officer of each detachment of the troops under your command, embarked on board ships of the description mentioned in the article of war.

1st. In case any officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, shall be guilty of any offence against the laws and regulations established for the government and discipline of the ship in which he is embarked; the commanding officer of such ship, by his own authority, and without reference to any other person, is to cause him to be put under arrest, or to confine him as a close prisoner, if the circumstances of the case, and the naval articles require it, and to detain him (if necessary) in either of those situations during his continuance on board, transmitting, without delay, a report in writing, of the charges against such officer or soldier, to his superior officer, or the commander-in-chief of the land forces, in order that he may be disembarked, or removed into some transport the first convenient opportunity, and then proceeded against, according to military law, if the offence charged be such as is cognizable by a general or regimental court-martial.

2nd. In cases where the practice of the navy authorizes immediate punishment, private soldiers (but no others) are to suffer such punishment as the commanding officer of the ship may think fit to be inflicted, provided the commanding officer of the troops shall previously concur in the necessity of such immediate punishment: but if the latter differs in opinion thereupon, (the reason for which difference of opinion he shall state in writing and deliver to the commanding officer of the ship) the delinquents are to be disembarked and removed into a transport, and to be proceeded against, as stated in the preceding article.

3rd. The military courts-martial, whether general or

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regimental, cannot be held on board the said ships consistently with the laws of the navy.

4th. Should any officer or soldier while embarked in such ships, commit any military offence, for which he would be amenable to a court-martial if serving on shore, requisition is to be made by his commanding officer to the commanding officer of the ship; who will thereupon cause such officer or soldier to be put under arrest, or confinement, until he can be removed in the manner above-mentioned, and brought to trial. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

FREDERICK, F.M.

Major-general Sir Ralph Abercromby.

To that additional article, and more especially to the accompanying interpretation of the law, there followed the well known naval remonstrance, as against the total subversion of the basis of naval discipline; and then the Horse Guards submitted.

Now, as it was Sir John Jervis' request that publicity be given to the part he took in this matter, compliance is become a duty.

"On the 19th October 1795," wrote Sir John, "Mr. Nepean signified to me the command of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I should attend upon their Lordships the next morning, to give my opinion upon some doubt which had arisen, whether troops not in sea pay were amenable to naval courts-martial, and discipline, when embarked on board his Majesty's ships.

"The first opinion I gave, was, that as parliament was to meet in the ensuing week, a short bill might be brought in and passed, to amend and explain the other: this was objected to, because the Duke of York and the army had taken up the subject warmly. Expedients were mooted; Lord Howe thought the officers and soldiers offending against naval discipline and regulations might be kept in confinement until the ship came into port, and a regimen-

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tal or general court-martial held. I contended, the Captain should have authority given to him to punish in the ordinary way; and Sir William Scott and Sir John Mitford agreed, that the law vested such powers in the King. My argument was founded upon the ill consequences which would flow from a number of mischievous spirits being under confinement for months without power to punish. Lords Howe, Hugh Seymour, and I agreed in opinion, that there was nothing improper in this delegation of power to inflict punishment, because we had never known or heard of an instance of a land officer not concurring in the necessity of these punishments, and that it was, as far as we understood, the invariable practice, whenever complaint was made against a soldier, to send for the officer of the troops embarked, that he might be present at the examination, and there could be no doubt of the good sense and temper of the Captain of the ship, and commanding officer of the troops co-operating to preserve due subordination.

"To my astonishment, and I believe to that of Lord Howe, the whole navy is impressed with an opinion, that the additional article of war, issued from the War Office, and the orders given by the Commander-in-chief to the officer in the army embarked in his Majesty's ships, were founded upon opinions offered by his Lordship and me!

"J. JERVIS."

"18th July, 1796."

Though this sets that question for ever at rest, yet little indeed needed Sir John Jervis fear that he, of all human beings, would ever be accused of consenting to *any* thing tending to wrest the absolute command of a British man-of-war from her officers.

In November the Admiral hoisted his flag, now blue at the main, in the Lively. Captain Calder accompanied him as Captain of the fleet, Captain

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George Grey again to command his flag ship; and on the 23rd they reached Gibraltar. There the Admiral found a detached squadron of his fleet, under the command of Rear Admiral Mann. Having taken them under his command, and despatched them on their previously assigned service, to cruise off Cadiz, Sir John sailed on the following day for Corsica, where the main body of his force then lay. He arrived there on the 29th.

The writer of these pages has been often told, by an eye-witness to the fact, that, before the smoke of the salute to the Commander-in-chief's flag was blown off, the signal to unmoor flew. Whether on that incident memory were or not accurate, it is not too much to assert, that at this period, and in this fleet commenced, and chiefly to the command of this Admiral was due, the creation of that naval system which, when carried out, has perfected the discipline, the health, and the activity,—in a word, the unrivalled efficiency of the British Navy.

The Mediterranean fleet then consisted of—

	GUNS.	
Victory . .	100	Flag: Captain R. Calder, Captain of the Fleet. Captain George Grey.
Britannia . .	100	Captain Shuldham Peard.
Princess Royal .	98	Vice-Admiral Linzee. Captain J. C. Purvis.
Barfleur . .	98	Vice-Admiral the Hon. Wm. Waldegrave. Captain J. R. Dacres.
Windsor Castle .	98	Rear-Admiral Mann. Captain Edward O'Brien.

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	GUNS.	
Blenheim	98	Captain Thomas Lenox Frederick.
St. George	98	Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker. Capt. T. Foley.
Ça Ira	80	C. D. Pater. Burnt by accident 1796.
Gibraltar	80	J. Pakenham.
Audacious	74	David Gould.
Bombay Castle	74	Thomas Sotheby. Lost in December 1796, going into the Tagus.
Captain	74	T. S. Smith.
Courageux	74	Benjamin Hallowell.
Culloden	74	Thomas Trowbridge.
Cumberland	74	B. S. Rowley.
Defence	74	Thomas Wells.
Egmont	74	John Sutton.
Excellent	74	Cuthbert Collingwood.
Saturn	74	James Douglas.
Terrible	74	George Campbell.
Hector	74	Robert Montagu.
Zealous	74	Samuel Hood.
Goliah	74	Sir Charles Knowle s.
Agamemnon	64	Horatio Nelson.
Diadem	64	Charles Tyler.
Chichester	44	R. D. Fancourt.
La Minerve	38	George H. Towry.
L'Aigle	38	Samuel Hood.
Argo (two decks)	44	J. S. Hall.
Flora	36	Robert Gambier Middleton.
Inconstant	36	Thomas Fremantle.
Romulus	36	George Hope.
Emerald	36	V. C. Berkeley.
Blanche	36	D'Arcy Preston.
Blonde	32	William Pierrepoint.
Castor	32	Rowley Bulteel.
Lively	32	Lord Viscount Garlies.
Lowestoffe	32	R. Plampin.
Meleager	32	G. Cockburn.
La Mulette	32	R. Goddard.

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	GUNS.		
La Mignonne	32	Capt.	R. W. Miller.
Southampton	32	„	James Macnamara.
Boston	32	„	James Nichol Morris.
Terpsichore	32	„	Richard Bowen.
Niger	32	„	Edward James Foote.
Cyclops	28	„	William Hotham.
Dido	28	„	Henry Hotham.
Nemesis	28	„	Samuel Hood Linzee.
Tartar	28	„	Hon. Charles Elphinstone.
Amphitrite	24	„	Hon. Charles Herbert.
L'Unité	24		
L'Utile	24	„	Charles Lydiard.
Ariadne	24		
La Bellette	24	„	T. Scoffield.
L'Eclair	24	„	Leycester.
La Moselle	24		
La Poulette	24	„	J. Edwards.
La Sardine	24	„	E. Killiwick.
La Sincère	24	„	J. Sauce.
Speedy (brig)	14	„	Thomas Elphinstone.
Peterell	18	„	Charles Ogle.
Cameleon	18	„	R. B. Bowyer.
Raven	18	„	John Giffard.
Fortune	16	„	Lord Mark Kerr.
Serapis (store-ship)	22	„	Henry Duncan, Master.
Dromedary (ditto)	22	„	J. Harrison.
Alliance (ditto)	22	„	W. Cumming.
Gorgon (ditto)	22	„	Edward Tyrrell.
Camel (ditto)	22	„	Edward Rotherham.
Dolphin (hospital)		„	Richard Retalick.
Cornet (fire-ship)		„	Robert Redmill.
Le Tarleston	14	„	C. Brisbane.
L'Aurore (prison-ship)		Lieut.	William Bolton.
La Mutine (cutter)	14	„	H. West.
Resolution (ditto)		„	E. H. Columbine.
Swift	14	„	Blake.
Le Vaneau	6	„	John Gourlay.
Assurance (armed transport)	22	„	R. Zookey.

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But no eye at all familiar with the naval events to be related, can glance over this list but it will be felt, that there, together with Nelson, appear Collingwood, Troubridge, Hood, Hallowell, Cockburn, and others, our heroes of a hundred fights, to support this Admiral. And that is proudly true; great Captains they assuredly were; bright they have made our annals; each ship was a perfect school.

But, unless the reader will either impose as it were an oblivious restraint upon his memory, and forcibly compel himself to look upon these afterwards distinguished officers as if not yet seen in their own brilliancy, or, by the reflected light of their subsequent splendour, will perceive their Admiral's penetration, the justice he will do to Sir John Jervis is little indeed. For among the most valuable of his powerful talents, and a great source of his superiority and success it was, that, mixing however suddenly with characters, of whatever calibre or description, "the alchemy of his discernment" was so analysing, the dissection of his glance so quick, accurate and trusty, that in the search of merit, though in the lowliest most humble guise, or in the demolition of imposture, however specious, the rapidity and correctness of his insight were almost miraculous. Certainly, in the list of the Captains of this fleet names do appear that must for ever ennoble their profession, and adorn the nation; but be it borne in mind, they are of men with whom the service was then but slightly, assuredly Sir John Jervis was not at all acquainted; acquainted, that is, so as to be able to do justice

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between them and their Country. He it was that first descried these great officers; he who drew forth their genius. "Sir John Jervis was a perfect stranger to me, therefore I feel the more flattered," wrote Captain Nelson to his wife; and in his letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Sir John says of Captain Troubridge, "I am afraid of being thought a puffer, like many of my brethren, or I should have before dealt out to the Board the merits of Captain Troubridge, which are very uncommon. I never saw him before my arrival at San Fiorenzo." Again to Lord Spencer, "Of Captains Hood and Hallowell I knew nothing, nor had any one mentioned them to me; but while such officers support my orders, your Lordship may be assured of the restoration of discipline." Nor does the observation less apply to others, the then unknown, but afterwards distinguished characters in our Naval history.

At this early mention of the immortal name of Nelson, it is thought fit, once for all, to say, that into any relation of his glorious exploits, although under this flag, it is felt that this biography ought not to be tempted. They belong exclusively to the fame of the Hero himself. They are, moreover, written in records far more durable than these; especially by Dr. Southey, in certainly the best production of his literary talents. We are here concerned with only Sir John Jervis' services; and of them, not the least, nor the least thankworthy it was, that, meeting an entire stranger to himself in Captain Nelson, and an Officer scarcely yet known to the nation, he at once perceived his character, and on his own

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responsibility selected him for the dashing desperate services for which he was by nature so wonderfully adapted: and when he had formed his favourite, into the unrivalled model which he afterwards became, it was not Sir John Jervis' feeling that the "rise of another was his own fall;" but he had the rare and high-bred merit of recognising his *élève's* pre-eminence, without jealousy of his popularity or rivalry of his fame, but with proud satisfaction of witnessing the happy realization of his early hopes, and predictions. For this it is that Sir John Jervis is to be admired; and to this intent alone, will the services of our Nelson be mentioned, excepting what the thread of the story may indispensably require. Here also may be the proper place to intimate the mode in which it is proposed to attempt to present a relation of the Commander-in-chief's own proceedings. Extracts* will be freely made from his order and official letter books, the almost only remaining portions of his once voluminous correspondence. But these will be divided into periods, each prefaced by a few remarks, which are ventured to render these extracts more intelligible to the unprofessional reader, or to connect them and the motions of the fleet with the course

* What is offered, frequently being only extracts. Notwithstanding the distance of time, it has been found impossible to present the whole of very many of these admirable letters. There are yet alive several to whose feelings what is suppressed would cause a pain, which neither then, nor now, was intended to be thus inflicted.

It should also be said, as to the signatures of the Admiral's general orders, that the counter-signature of his captain of the fleet will, for perspicuity's sake, be omitted, as useless to these pages.

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of Continental events. Yet, as a collection of letters should almost arrest the biographer's efforts, and Sir John Jervis being about to represent himself, the delineation should be most graphical, again it will be glaring, how much it is to be lamented that to deal with a naval character should be entrusted to a civilian's unskilfulness. What to extract or to omit, so as to enable the Officer to do justice to himself, to History, and to the Navy; so as not to balk the interest of those familiar with the service, nor disappoint the curiosity or desire of knowledge of the general reader, and yet to fatigue neither, demands far greater acquaintance with naval and literary science than now makes the attempt. But inasmuch as, after doing justice to the Admiral himself, the object next chiefly intended is information to younger Officers, it is hoped that general courtesy will pardon, if on occasional balancings of discretion, the turn of the scale is given in favour of the sailor; because though the originality of superior intellect, and courage under responsibility, must for ever be the chief requisites for safe conduct through arduous times, and such are here approached, yet, to the young Officer, almost incalculable may be the value of the opinions and authorities of his more eminent predecessors.

With fifteen sail-of-the-line in the harbour of Toulon, of which thirteen were quite, and the other two all but, ready for sea, and with a proportionate accompaniment of frigates, perfectly equipped, the French Directory intended that its army should be escorted by that fleet to Cività Vecchia in the Ro-

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man States; to complete their crews to the full complement, five thousand merchant-seamen were marched into the port, and the ships took on board all the necessary provisions for the voyage.

But while preparations for this commencement of the campaign proceeded in France, to oppose it, had been committed to the British Fleet. Immediately on his arrival on his command, Sir John Jervis had placed himself in communication with the Austrian Generals, assuring them of his readiness to receive their opinions, and to contribute his best efforts; and he had concerted with them and the Viceroy of Corsica, Sir Gilbert Elliot, what should be his co-operation; which was, and chiefly, that the port of Toulon should be completely blockaded, while a squadron of light ships should support the allies along the coast.

That this detachment was conducted by Captain Nelson, scarcely needs be told.

The fleet took up its station in the month of January. The blockading squadron was disposed in two bodies; the videttes, as Sir John termed the in-shore squadron, under Captain Troubridge, with Captains Hood and Hallowell under him, whose ships were frequently in conflict with the batteries, and scarcely ever three miles from the harbour's mouth; and the main body, which cruized outside.

It must not, however, be supposed that the whole force which has been enumerated as attached to Sir John Jervis' flag, was concentrated before this port. Rear-Admiral Mann had seven sail-of-the line in his detachment off Cadiz; Captain, soon made Com-

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modore Nelson, had one sail-of-the-line, three frigates, and two sloops; and besides the paramount duty of blockading the port itself, and coastwise co-operating with the allies, the other demands on the Mediterranean fleet, while they were of scarcely less urgency, were from scenes so widely distant, that, by scattering they materially diminished the strength demonstrable to the enemy. The convoys of merchant-traders all round the Mediterranean and the Adriatic, the protection of British interests in neutral ports, the enforcement of the neutrality itself, the inspiring confidence into our allies by the occasional presence of a naval force, the keeping up the communication between those powers, the defence of Corsica, the assistance to Venice and the Adriatic ports, the protection of the British factory at Smyrna, the overawing the Barbary Powers, and the watching the French cruizers sent to decoy away the blockading squadron, imposed upon this fleet a variety and severity of service, which our sailors alone can estimate; while, to victual and to store so scattered a force, and to provide that everywhere the national interests were constantly supported, was to the Commander-in-chief one unceasing test of resources, and a task for his vigilant ubiquity. But all was done, and everywhere, seasonably and perfectly. Yet, with less vigorous spirits than were found officering that fleet, and without that master-hand which drew them forth, the country's service in the Mediterranean then could not have been accomplished. That, comparatively, with it, this fleet was but a small

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force, there cannot be doubt; that, however was, and unavoidably, an inconvenience felt on all our naval stations, because at that period England had not at hand a sufficient navy for her exigencies; nor from her drained population, and exhausted dock-yards, was it possible for the Admiralty which had then acceded to office, to adequately equip the ships She did send forth. Seldom Sir John Jervis could afford to demonstrate more than eleven, never more than thirteen, sail of the line before Toulon. But the service required of them was performed, the co-operative design was accomplished, the harbour was sealed up, and no French fleet, nor expedition, dared proceed.

Baffled in its designs of transporting its army by sea, the Directory now changed its plans. The Maritime Alps were selected for the path of invasion: and relying, for the first time, upon the genius of Buonaparte, France hoped that the impetuous assault of her armies would compensate for the paralysis of her fleet. And her hopes and her fears were to be abundantly realised. What the French legions, led by Buonaparte, were to German divisions, manœuvred in strict accordance with antiquated tactics, that the British man-of-war, disciplined by Sir John Jervis, was to the ship she imprisoned. And the annihilation which the plains of Italy saw of the Austrian armies by the Republican columns, was only what the shores of Egypt beheld of the Toulon fleet by a squadron detached against it by this British Admiral.

On the 9th April the Austrian General, Beaulieu,

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opened the campaign by driving in the advanced posts of the invading army; but on the following day, the invincible obstinacy of the French Colonel, Rampon, vindicating the honour of his nation, commenced at Montenotte her "Italian victories." Then followed Millesimo and Dego, by which, and assisted by the mutual jealousies of the Austrian and Piedmontese Generals, Buonaparte, in less than five days, separated the allied armies, slipped through them, and accomplished the combination of the whole of his own forces. The defeat of his General Colli, at Mondovi, compelling the King of Sardinia to purchase peace by the surrender of his most important fortresses, and Austria being then left to fight her own battles, Beaulieu retired to protect Milan: and thus a campaign ended, which, though of less than a month, had amply demonstrated that Austrian obstinacy and courage, conducted according to ancient rules, were no match for French ardour, pouring forth the new evolutions; that the aged Beaulieu was feebleness itself against the young Napoleon.

The murderous passage of the bridge of Lodi, soon after gave early proof that it was no part of Buonaparte's character to let any horrors of carnage, or any compunctions of humanity towards even his own devoted troops, stand in the way of his reckless ambition; and then his triumphant entry into amerced Milan, and the atrocious plunder of Pavia, taught the horrified Italians, that the occupation of their States by the Republic was for other purposes than the farce of planting Trees of Liberty in

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Market-places; that invasion was to pay for war; and that the woe of the conqueror's vengeance would betide all those who showed a spark of true patriotism. The victory of Borgetto established the French army on the left bank of the Mincio; and thus the helpless Beaulieu was driven into the Tyrol, there to terminate his faulty and disastrous campaign.

While the armies of the Directory were raging through Piedmont and Lombardy, its fleet was imprisoned in the harbour of Toulon; England thus raising the only obstacle which Europe then could oppose, to Buonaparte's triumphant and still wonderful career. "If," wrote the young General to the Directory, "the Republic were once master of the Mediterranean, the campaign would speedily terminate, but the presence of the British squadron impedes." And Captain Nelson, to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence: "If the British Admiral should be crippled, the French would be at sea in a week." But of the Mediterranean the Republic could not become the masters, the British Admiral was not crippled, and the French fleet dared not depart from shelter.

It would be presumption in a civilian to attempt to present his ideas of this station of blockade, while access came in after years to the Commander-in-chief's own description of it. "A wearisome command," he called it in 1810.* "Quick decision is more requisite off Toulon than in any other quarter of the Globe—without it our squadron will be con-

* Letter to Dr. Baird.

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tinually exposed to disasters, for the gales which cripple it, are fair for the sailing of the enemy."

But, as to the blockade itself, a writer of considerable experience in naval policy, Sir John Barrow, has suggested, "that the effect of the long blockades by Sir John Jervis was so laborious to the ships themselves, and so very destructive of their strength, that future times will not again witness that species of naval warfare." * Now, without at present discussing this question, albeit one upon which England's mercantile, nay, national existence may hang, here may we consider only the duties of the officer commanding the fleet, to which, whether wisely or not, such blockade is assigned. On the constitutional advisers of the Crown lies the responsibility for that disposition of its naval forces. The Admiral has nothing to do with that advice. His duties are, by judiciously stationing his fleet and the detached squadrons, to as completely seal up the hostile port as may be possible with the means which his superiors have placed under his command, preserving the whole time the constant efficiency of his force, in the sea-worthiness of his ships, the supply and economy of their stores, the maintenance of the discipline, and the preservation of the health of his crews. The general consideration of the health of the crews will be purposely delayed to a later period. True it is, that the introduction of the greatest improvements of the system which now so surprisingly protect the seaman's life,

* Life of Lord Howe.

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is due to this Admiral; indeed, he used to call it "of the services to which he laid claim his proudest boast." Yet, except as to the victualling, cleanliness, and ventilation of his ships, this manifestly is the care for which the Commander-in-chief looks mostly for co-operation from others; his own difficult and responsible share being, to discern authentic advice from homicidal quackery, to secure to his crews the advantage of modest merit, to rescue them from havoc by officious ignorance. But the medical officer from whom Sir John Jervis received the most beneficial counsel, was not yet appointed to the flag. The subject therefore is, in justice, postponed. Here be it merely remarked, that on his arrival in any port with a hospital, or any quarters for sick seamen, wheresoever, how often soever it might be, from the first necessary visit on the local authorities, Sir John Jervis' next step invariably was, to minutely inspect the hospital, manifesting that interest in their recovery, which comforted the patients, and secured the attention of those to whom their lives were entrusted.

In the performance of all his other duties, the Commander-in-chief's orders, and letters, will best present himself; and, as glances, varying from near to far, on a concentrated force, or on detached ships, they will supply those traits of officers, and those incidents to the fleet, which ought to be left to such authentic relation; the brief notice of the events of the Italian campaign, being ventured solely that their bearing may be coupled with the contemporaneous conduct of the British Admiral.

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Nor will it be possible to estimate, the lasting general advantages to the British navy, of this command by Sir John Jervis in the Mediterranean, or the laborious exertion which the fleet was compelled to make, unless the condition of our naval service of that period, and the straitened state of the ships themselves, are borne in mind.

They who, unacquainted with our past naval history, have only enjoyed the delight of admiring the apparent facility, and gentle rule, by which our present well composed crews of nearly all able seamen, and of good character, are managed by officers, who, from the dignified Admiral to the "skilful urchin," combine all the courage, all the seamanship, and readiness of their predecessors, with advanced professional knowledge, and with the elevated front and accomplished minds and manners of high bred gentlemen, are not to infer that when Sir John Jervis entered the Navy, either grade of it was formed, of only similar components. Without resorting to invidious comparisons, on which it would least become a civilian to venture, thus much he may advisedly say, that it is precisely because an unfavourable difference, in many essential respects, might not unfairly be pointed out, that this Admiral's genius was so admirably adapted to the period in which it was called into action. The best crews which a dwindling mercantile marine and the sweepings and dregs of an exhausted population afforded, must have been far inferior to what at present is but mediocrity. In the selection and education of youths destined for authority, there

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then was not, nor from the state of things could there be, that invariable caution and attention, which have since protected the Quarter-deck.

To regulate the government of large bodies of such seamen, to improve the example of many of those in command, to commence, that is, a system wise and good, not merely in its immediate effect, but in its remote influence, besides the original and master mind, also the stern and vigorous character natural to Sir John Jervis was indispensable. When he had accomplished his task, when his discipline had established order and good conduct throughout, then a milder treatment of all ranks, has sufficed to lead our sailors to achieve those prodigies, by which they since have saved their Country, and astonished the world. But it is no less true, that had this Admiral attempted the gentle and more palatable method, an ephemeral unsound popularity he certainly would have enjoyed, but neither would his school have been boasted for the distinguished Officers it modelled, nor cited as authority by those who were less fortunate, nor would England have thence dated the rapid progress of her Navy to its present excellence. In a word, philanthropists may declaim, and theorists may expound, but, say what they will, in the condition the naval service was when Sir John Jervis first commanded, there were no other means of giving it the powerful direction he did towards the condition it now is, than those he took.

As to the state of the ships of this fleet, and the exertion which each was called upon to make—too

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few to allow absentees to England to refit, by whatever repairs sea-worthiness could be restored, that was performed on the station, generally even at sea, by the united efforts of the artificers from the whole fleet combined upon the complaining ship,—poor in the supply, disappointed in the quality of the stores sent out to them, but rich in the economy, and independent in the contrivance and in the fertility of the resources of their Commander-in-chief, their Captains were told that "to their country making her best efforts, they must bring succour," and were taught that inseparable characteristic of the thorough Sea-officer, reliance in difficulty upon themselves: and as to the cost to the Country of the wear and tear of their ships, a striking opportunity, which may not now be anticipated, will hereafter occur, of perceiving how comparatively inexpensive the Mediterranean fleet became during this command, while its augmented duties were neglected nowhere.

That when all the Rivera, when Genoa itself, when all Lombardy, the fortress of Mantua alone excepted, were occupied by French troops, when every port there was hostile to the British flag, not only a long extension of blockade was imposed upon the fleet, but the loss of those sources of provision was severely felt by the pent up ships' companies, will be readily imagined, and that upon the return of a detached squadron, being in want of food, it was sent to seek it at Gibraltar, the rest being unable to spare from their scanty store, will not surprise,—yet for twenty-seven weeks did this blockading fleet maintain its station before Toulon, "in good spirits,

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and "in excellent health," the main body scarcely ever, the videttes never, with their eyes off the fleet they were ordered to imprison.

TO COMMISSIONER INGLEFIELD, AJACCIO.

H. M. S. Lively, in San Fiorenzo Bay, 3rd Dec. 1795.

SIR,

I avail myself of the messenger returning to Ajaccio to inform you of my arrival here, to take upon me the command of His Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean.

I am concerned to find the quantity of stores here so inadequate to the necessary supply of the ships, and that those sent round in transports and ships of war suffered much damage in their conveyance; I, therefore, shall think it expedient to direct the storeships coming from England to remain in this bay, for a more ready economical delivery.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO THE MARQUIS CORNWALLIS,

Master-General of the Ordnance, &c. &c.

H. M. S. Victory, in San Fiorenzo Bay, 12th Dec. 1795.

MY LORD,

I think proper to acquaint your lordship that His Majesty's fleet under my command is extremely deficient in ammunition and ordnance stores, more particularly shot, powder, and cartridges. I have written to Mr. Parish, ordnance storekeeper at Gibraltar, on this head, and have sent him a statement of the wants of the ships I have joined; but, doubtful whether they can be supplied from thence, I think it proper to acquaint your Lordship with the

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urgent necessity we are under for the three articles above recited; and I beg leave to suggest the advantage we should derive from the ammunition and stores being sent to this island directly from Woolwich.

I have the honour to be your Lordship's, &c.

J. JERVIS.

TO ROBERT CALDER, ESQ.

First Captain of His Majesty's Ship the Victory, Captain of the Fleet, &c. &c.

By Sir JOHN JERVIS, Knight of the Bath, Admiral of the Blue, and Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

WHEREAS, the due performance of the plan of battle concerted between us may be essential to the success of His Majesty's arms, you are, in the event of my being slain or disabled in action with the enemy, hereby authorized and required to continue the direction of the fleet by the signals necessary to enforce and complete such plan and evolution, lest the advantages, which will probably result from a full completion thereof, be lost to my King and Country: but having fulfilled the same to the best of your judgment, you are to take the *first* favourable opportunity of making known the accident (by signal) to the Commander in the second post; and having so done, you are to repeat his signal, keeping my flag flying while in presence of the enemy.

Given on board the Victory, at sea, 1st January 1796,

J. JERVIS.

GENERAL ORDER.—TO RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Victory, 1st January 1796.

WHEREAS, I am of opinion that, by a strict and necessary economy in the expenditure, the boatswain's and carpen-

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ter's stores at Gibraltar and Ajaccio, with the storeships arrived and those which may be expected, will be equal to the demand without purchasing in the Mediterranean; I have therefore thought fit to order a survey to be taken on the remains of the boatswain's and carpenter's stores on board the ship under your command, and do hereby require and direct you to take care, that the utmost frugality be used in the expense thereof: and you are, on no account, to purchase stores of any kind at Leghorn, or other port in the Mediterranean, unless in cases of the most urgent necessity, when the demands for such are to be approved by me, if practicable: and you are to see that the articles so demanded are received on board in kind; transmitting to me, by the first conveyance, the particulars and charge thereof, with the reasons for the purchase.

J. JERVIS.

STANDING ORDER.

Victory, 1st January, 1796.

IT is required by the Commander-in-chief that the strictest attention be paid by the Surgeons of the squadron to the sick on board their respective ships; and when any are sent to an hospital ship, which is not to be done without their being first certified to the First-captain that they are fit objects, by the Surgeon of the Victory; they are to be visited by their own Surgeons every day, when the weather and the position of the fleet will permit.

J. JERVIS.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL MANN.

Victory, in St. Fiorenzo Bay, 19th January, 1796.

SIR,

By the Resolution cutter, which arrived here on the 15th, I have received your letters of the 23rd and 28th ultimo, giving an account of your proceedings since the

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date of those received by the Barfleur; and I have to express my full approbation of the exertions made by the Captains and Officers of your squadron, under your superintendence, after the damage received off Cadiz. The defects and deficiencies of the frigates under your direction bear a proportion to those in these seas, where the utmost frugality is of necessity used, in consequence of the want of stores and artificers.

With respect to the purchase or hire of any vessel for the purpose of cruising in the Gut, I must inform you, that it is out of my power to authorize such a measure. The gunboat, manned out of the prison ships, may be employed to run to and from Tangier; but she is certainly unfit to cruise at this season. The Resolution cutter is the best adapted to that service, and Lieutenant Columbine has my orders accordingly, unless you have other material use for her.

I am of opinion that no expense should be incurred on account of the Mullett until the Board of Admiralty, to which I have referred her situation, signifies its directions thereon.

At this distance, and without authentic intelligence of a hostile disposition on the part of Spain, it is impossible for me to give you other instructions than those you are in possession of. Should Richery's squadron return to Toulon, you will of course make the best of your way to join me here. Mr. Duff will doubtless send you out information of his sailing, with the best judgment he can form of his destination. The last intelligence from Toulon, copies of which I enclose, is all the information I am master of. I have to thank you for what you have furnished me with, enclosed in your letters; and if you will collect the trade from Cadiz at Gibraltar, they may avail themselves of the first convoy for England. This is the only answer I can give to their petition, and to Mr. Consul Duff's recommendation of it. It was always my intention that the Castor and

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Blonde should be considered as attached to your squadron; and the Dido, with the Moselle, stationed for the convoy of the garrison victuallers, and the protection of the trade passing to and fro in the Gut; should, however, the Blonde have left you to join me, the Cyclops may supply her place. The recommendation of any officer you appoint to act, let the vacancy be what it may, shall go, through me, to Lord Spencer. I did not interfere with those that happened before my arrival, from motives of delicacy.

L'Aigle, the Cyclops, and La Moselle, with two victuallers, must long ere this have joined, and relieved your anxiety about provisions. I trust the two former are in such a state of equipment that I may soon expect their return here.

We are quite destitute of slop clothes and beds here. I urged the necessity of large supplies before I left England, of which I conclude you will shortly be in possession, on the store-ship's arrival. In supplying your squadron, I must desire you will order no more to be taken than a proportionate quantity to the number of ships up the Mediterranean. I have since written to the Navy Board for a further quantity. I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM WALDEGRAVE.

Vice-Admiral of the Blue, &c., &c., &c.

(Secret.)

Victory, 29th January, 1796.

Egremont.
Zealous.
Bombay Castle.
Fox, cutter.
Tartar.

YOU are hereby required and directed to take under your command the ships and cutter named in the margin, whose commanders are instructed to obey your orders; and when I make the signal, (123,) with the Barfleur's distinguishing pendant, you are to part company, and proceed to Tunis, and to co-operate with Perkins

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Magra, Esq., his Majesty's Agent and Consul to that Regency, in endeavouring to accomplish the objects contained in the instructions you have received from the Viceroy and me, in the conduct of which I repose the most entire confidence in your judgment and experience, being well assured that where moderation is necessary you will exercise it; and, on the other hand, that on all proper occasions you will assert and maintain the dignity of the British Crown and government.

When your negotiation is at an end, you are to make known the event of it to the Viceroy with the utmost expedition, either by the Tartar, or Fox cutter, directing her Commander, after landing her despatches at Bastia, to join me with duplicates thereof, on the station specified in the accompanying, sealed, rendezvous, unless otherwise directed, by any orders I may leave with the Viceroy.

Having effected all the objects of your instructions, you are to repair, with the rest of your squadron, to Port Mahon, in order to obtain *pratique*, and to complete your water; and having so done, to join me on the rendezvous before-mentioned. J. JERVIS.

TO SIR HYDE PARKER,

Vice-Admiral of the Red, &c., &c., &c.

H. M. S. Victory, in San Fiorenzo Bay, 29th January, 1796.

SIR,

As the stores brought out in the store-ships will be inadequate to the demands of the fleet, without the most scrupulous attention in the officers ordered on surveys,

I desire you will direct the masters so ordered on boatswain's stores to be very particular in describing the defects they find, and whether the topsail haulyards, braces, lifts, and tacklefalls may be converted into a jib or stay-sail, haulyards, sheets, &c.; and when carpenters are so ordered

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they are to be as circumspect as possible in their duty, reporting to you whether the lower masts, topmasts, and yards they survey, can by any artificial means be made serviceable; or if not, their opinion of the use to which the same may be best converted; and all stores deemed totally unserviceable are not to be cut up, but returned entire to the store-keeper of Ajaccio and Gibraltar, or to the clerk of delivery on board the store-ships at San Fiorenzo, taking a receipt for the same.

I have the honour to be, &c., J. JERVIS.

STANDING ORDER.

Victory, 2nd Feb. 1796.

IT being of the utmost consequence that the ships under my command should be expert in the exercise of the great guns,

It is my direction, that every ship, whether at sea or in harbour, exercise at least five guns every day, under the direction of the Officer who had the morning watch; and that it be noted in the Log Book every day, signed by the Officer who performed that service. J. JERVIS.

TO THE HONOURABLE JOHN TREVOR.

H. M. S. Victory, in Leghorn Road, 11th Feb. 1796.

SIR,

I am honored with your Excellency's letter, the 27th January, and I feel in its full force your reasoning upon the probable events of the ensuing campaign in Italy, unless the Emperor is induced to bring a very powerful army into the field, and acts upon the offensive. You do me justice in believing I shall be ready to co-operate with his Majesty's allies to the utmost of my power, consistent with other important objects. I am very happy to learn

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that Captain Nelson, whose zeal, activity, and enterprize cannot be surpassed, stands so high in your good opinion; I have only to lament the want of means to give him the command of a squadron equal to his merit.

I have no guess at the immediate object of the armament at Toulon; the flat boats, by the description I have of them, appear calculated for floating bridges; the intelligence is, however, so imperfect, it becomes very difficult to form a good judgment of their designs.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO CAPTAIN NELSON, H. M. S. AGAMEMNON.

H. M. S. Victory, at Sea, 21st March, 1796.

SIR,

By the arrival of the Blanche I am honored with your two letters of the 16th, and one of the 19th inst, together with the several enclosures and copies of your correspondence at Turin, Genoa, and Naples; and I feel the greatest satisfaction in communicating this public testimony of my thorough approbation of your late and recent correspondence and conduct.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Victory, in San Fiorenzo Bay, 28th March, 1796.

SIR,

I desire you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that soon after I despatched my letter of the 5th instant, a duplicate of which is enclosed, I proceeded off Cape Mola in the island of Minorca, to effect a speedier junction with Vice-Admiral Waldegrave, and to protect the trade, which I had reason to expect was on its passage from England. On the 17th I was joined by

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Captain Troubridge in the Culloden, and the day following by the Diadem, Inconstant, and Minerva, and on the 21st by the Excellent, to my astonishment in perfect repair, it being only three weeks since she parted from the fleet with the loss of her foremast and bowsprit.

Captain Nelson, whose zeal and activity cannot be surpassed, has been constantly employed with his little squadron in the Gulf of Genoa, and will continue there, with an addition of force, which I shall be able to afford him in ten or twelve days.

Rear-Admiral Mann, from his experience of the want of frigates, directed Captain Cook, of La Sibylle, after repairing his defects at Gibraltar, to proceed to Alicante and Barcelona, and take under his protection any trade bound upwards, and afterwards to join me here, a measure which I trust their lordships will approve, as it arose from the best intentions for the benefit of his Majesty's service; he is since arrived here.

I enclose Captain Troubridge's account of his proceedings in the Levant, which I am persuaded will merit their lordships' approbation; for in the course of my service I do not recollect an instance of greater vigour and despatch, though, from the active intelligence of the enemy, and the torpid state of ours, his judicious conduct was not rewarded with the success it deserved; the nine sail of valuable merchant ships he brought down, will remain here until I can assemble the trade of Italy.

Captain Purvis, of the Princess Royal, having, from very laudable feelings stated in his letter, a copy of which is enclosed, declined accepting their lordships' indulgence, Captain Lukin being desirous to return to England, and as I dare not hazard anything of importance by the Tuscan post, I charge him with my despatches; those relative to the mission of Admiral Waldegrave, are under another cover, being of serious import; I beg leave to observe to the honour of Captain Lukin, that he revolted at the idea of

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depriving the Masters and Commanders in this fleet of their succession to post-ships that might become vacant in any other mode than was intended by the Board.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO SIR JOHN JERVIS, K. B.

H. M. S. Agamemnon, April 28th, 1796.

SIR,

The Blanche is returned, but with very few stores; not canvas enough to mend our sails, 10 lbs. of twine! no tar, not a spar; we have, literally speaking, no top-gallant yards, no steering-sail booms—those we have up are fished—not an ounce of paint, and many other things, the Commissioner tells me; but I send his letters. We want much, and I must beg you will give me your order to purchase stores; I assure you, Sir, not an article shall be got but what is absolutely necessary. I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant, HORATIO NELSON.

TO THE CHEVALIER ACTON.

Victory, in San Fiorenzo Bay, 2nd April, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

On the arrival of the Peterell, a few days ago, I had the honour to receive your letter of the 22nd of March. I had, as you imagined, been informed of the extraordinary conversation between the Marquis Manfredini and M. Myot, by Mr. Wyndham. The French will not hesitate to invade Tuscany, or the territory of any other neutral state likely to furnish plunder, regardless as they are of the principles which have hitherto governed civilised nations. Offensive operations can alone defeat their designs; and to this effect, I trust, General Beaulieu will take the field early, with a powerful army. When in possession of Vado,

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there will be little difficulty in conveying your thirteen battalions and their cannon. Uninformed as I am of his movements, all I can say is, that no exertion on my part shall be wanting to promote the operations of the campaign. It is needless to observe, how useful the Neapolitan Xebeques, Galliottes, &c., will be in this warfare. I learn from Captain Nelson that he has written to Sir William Hamilton upon the subject; and the admirable disposition shewn by His Sicilian Majesty to sustain the coalesced powers, admits of no doubt that He will be pleased to furnish what He can spare from the defence of His own coasts.

The Tancredi anchored here yesterday, and from the report of the physician to the fleet (enclosed) I am impelled by the dictates of humanity to send her to Naples immediately. To the want of bedding and warm clothing during the winter season may be ascribed this dreadful infectious fever, which is not to be eradicated without sending the people on shore and fumigating the ship. When the sun approaches a little nearer to us, I shall be under no apprehensions for the crews of the other ships. Their being copper-sheathed is a very pleasant circumstance, and I look forward to their junction with impatience.

I have great obligation to the Chevalier Caraccioli for giving protection to the trade bound from Leghorn to Naples, and Cività Vechia lately; the escort having been found too weak to encounter the French privateers in the Channel of Piombino without his aid; I have every other reason to be satisfied with his conduct, during the short time the Tancredi has been under my orders, and I greatly lament the necessity I am under to part with him.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY FRANCIS DRAKE, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, in San Fiorenzo Bay, 3rd April, 1796.

SIR,

I was last night honoured with your Excellency's letter of the 28th March, with the enclosures addressed to Sir William Hamilton.

I cannot encourage you to expect any assistance from this island, the whole force of British not amounting to the number required; and his Majesty's fleet under my command being about 1500 men short of complement, can contribute nothing in aid of temporary gun-boats and armed vessels attached to the army, unless the enemy will in the first instance give us battle.

I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

STANDING ORDER.

Victory, 5th April, 1796.

THE Commander-in-chief observes with concern, that the ships of the squadron do not preserve the prescribed distances from each other in the order of sailing, with the precision necessary for making a sudden impression upon the enemy, or to avoid accidents by falling on board each other, which will happen continually if they do not keep their station correctly. He thinks many ships are too sparing of their mainsails when to leeward or astern, and requests that when any of the advanced ships of either division are at too great a distance from the leader of their column, the ship or ships next astern are to pass them without respect to persons, as directed in article, the 2nd page of the Instructions relative to the order of sailing. When the signal is made for tacking or wearing in succes-

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sion, every ship from the leader should force sail, more especially those in the rear, vide page 11, Art. 8, and page 59, Art. 8, in the order of sailing agreeable to the memorandums given out. J. JERVIS.

TO THE NAVY BOARD.

H. M. S. Victory, in the Gulf of Genoa, 21st April, 1796.

GENTLEMEN,

To such a pitch did the want of slops and bedding arrive, that when the Ça Ira was burnt several of the people were taken up naked, and not an article of any kind in store to furnish them with, until they could be got from Leghorn. I am, Gentlemen, &c. J. JERVIS.

GENERAL MEMORANDUM.

Victory, 29th April, 1796.

THE Commander-in-chief requests the attention of the Captains to the expediency of watching the motions of the Victory; and that when the signal is made to tack or wear, every yard of plain canvass should, in moderate weather, be spread instantly, more particularly in the rear ships, they having most way to make. J. JERVIS.

MEMORANDUM.

Victory, 30th April, 1796.

THE Commander-in-chief has too exalted an opinion of the respective Captains of the squadron to doubt their being upon deck when the signal is made to tack or wear in the night; he requires the Lieutenants, warrant, and petty officers to be at their stations during either of these operations, with the exception of those who had the watch

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immediately preceding that in which the signal is made, and he directs that a sufficient quantity of canvass is clapped upon each ship to secure her staying, having observed, with equal surprise and concern, that some of the fast-sailing ships have frequently failed from this omission, while the worst going have stayed. A sharp look-out should be continually kept by the ships astern, and they held in readiness to throw all aback, or hug the wind close, to keep clear of a ship a-head missing, and never to bear up, unless to avoid an inevitable accident, because it is less dangerous to get foul of a ship with little than much way.

J. JERVIS.

GENERAL ORDER.

Victory, 2nd May, 1796.

THE Commander-in-chief directs that the sounding be taken off all the cables of the squadron to prevent its rotting the cables, and that the ships are provided with long thick plats to have ready to put on their cables whenever the squadron may come to an anchor. The ships to have their anchors always kept ready to let go, and their cable-tiers kept well clear. J. JERVIS.

TO THE HONOURABLE W. F. WYNDHAM.

Victory, off Toulon, 5th May, 1796.

SIR,

I am honoured with your Excellency's letter of 28th of April. Having received no report from Captain Ogle relative to the firing at La Minerve, I can only state, from Mr. Udney's letter, that the event did happen; but I am unacquainted with any specific declaration made in my name, concerning the prisoners taken in Le Tonnerre. I therefore apply the whole as an insult to his Majesty's flag,

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and which, if repeated, will be repelled; for few officers can preserve the temper and moderation observed by Captain Ogle upon this occasion; and I trust your Excellency will find no difficulty in obtaining a disavowal of this hostile act, and such other concession as you may judge best suited to times and circumstances. I have in a degree referred the act of piracy committed by L'Horrible, to the Viceroy of Corsica, who is very conversant in the law of nations, and I hope I do not ask anything improper in requesting you will take no steps upon that transaction until his decision is made known; especially as I have expressed a wish that the Corsican tribunal may be found competent to bring the parties to a trial.

I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO THE HONOURABLE W. F. WYNDHAM.

Victory, off Toulon, 5th May, 1796.

SIR,

I very much admire the manner in which your Excellency has treated the subject of the outrage committed upon his Majesty's colours, within the limits of the port of Leghorn; and I have read with indignation the language of the Tuscan minister. I have, in addition, to complain of two flagrant violations of the neutrality which ought to exist between the two courts; the fort of Leghorn having fired shot at his Majesty's ship La Minerve, and a transport under her convoy, and at his Majesty's ships Vaneau, L'Eclair, and Fox cutter.

After having pledged my word of honour to the late governor Salviati, that I would be answerable for the conduct of his Majesty's ships under my command, I little expected so soon to have heard of an insult, bordering on hostility, committed against the British Nation, not to be endured for a moment. The crew of L'Horrible are, I conceive, to be considered as pirates to all intents and pur-

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poses, and to be tried as such. If there were any consistency in the French government, the minister of that republic at Florence would be the first to demand it. There being no tribunal in Tuscany competent to the decision of an act of piracy, I can scarce believe, because the law of nations, upon a crime so destructive to commerce and navigation is equally binding in all civilised countries. Mr. Udney informs me that he has explained to your Excellency the insult offered to his Majesty's ship La Minerve, and I enclose a copy of a letter just received from Captain Dixon, of his Majesty's ship L'Eclair, and I request you will have the goodness to make the strongest remonstrances against those unjustifiable proceedings.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY FRANCIS DRAKE, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 11th May, 1796.

SIR,

I was yesterday honoured with your Excellency's letter of the 24th April, enclosing copies of your very important despatches to Lord Grenville, and I, at the same time, received from Commodore Nelson your letters of a later date, to him and Mr. Brame. I have greatly to lament the unfortunate turn of affairs in Piedmont, which, without immediate and considerable reinforcements to the Austrian army, will, I apprehend, grow daily worse. In the mean while you may be perfectly at ease about the Toulon fleet; for, should they slip out, which may happen notwithstanding the vigilance of the excellent Officers who command the videttes of my force, I shall be close on their heels wherever they go. With respect to the enemy's convoys of ammunition and stores, they may be impeded a little on their passage, but not prevented from getting to Vado, even if the line-of-battle ships were placed from headland to

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headland. All the frigates under my command are posted in the most advantageous manner for the numerous and extensive objects I have to attend to, that I can devise. It cannot escape your penetrating eye, that the peculiar state of Corsica, — the footing we are on with the Bey of Tunis, — the flagrant partiality shown by Spain to the French, in permitting the cruizers of the Republic to lay at anchor in their ports, and to send out boats to capture our unsuspecting unarmed merchant ships as they approach them, — the clamours of my friend General O'Hara for protection to the victuallers of his garrison, — and the numerous convoys I am obliged to furnish to every part of the Mediterranean and Levant, require a greater number of frigates than I am, or, I fear, can be supplied with. I state this with no other view than to show you that the utmost exertion is made to give effect to the co-operation on the coast of Italy, and you may rely on the continuation of it. I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY HON. W. WYNDHAM.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 11th May, 1796.

SIR,

I am this moment honoured with your letter of the 28th April from Florence, and 6th instant from Leghorn, by the Comet; and although I do not see any just ground to alter the first opinion your Excellency formed upon the affair of his Majesty's cutter, The Fox, and the supposed pirate, L'Horrible, I am no otherwise tenacious about the capture than as it relates to the honour of the flag of my Sovereign, which, having been fired on by the miscreants, justifies the transaction in every point of view, even had L'Horrible, in her flight, approached much nearer the garrison than she was when taken possession of.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

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TO THE HON. JOHN TREVOR.

H.M.S. Victory, off Toulon, 19th May, 1796.

SIR,

I am honoured with your letter of the 30th April, reciting the unfortunate treaty his Sardinian Majesty has thought fit to enter into, so unlike the magnanimous conduct of the illustrious House of Savoy, which, I trust, nothing short of imperious necessity can have produced. You, at the fountain-head, are a competent judge of the operations of the campaign; to us, great defects in the co-operation with General Beaulieu appear: and I observe in some correspondence of his, heavy complaints of the want of assistance in keeping up communications. I by no means despair of the final issue of the campaign, if the Emperor is able to send adequate reinforcements to General Beaulieu. The enemy will show no mercy to Italy in case of submission, nor quit until they have transported every article of moveable property into France.

I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO CAPTAIN TROUBRIDGE.

H.M.S. Victory, off Toulon, 31st May, 1796.

SIR,

It being more than probable that the French ambassador for Constantinople, finding the port of Toulon so narrowly watched, may embark on board the Swedish frigate, (or ships armed *en flute*,) and try to evade your vigilance by that means; I therefore recommend to you to hold in contemplation to send a very intelligent lieutenant, and midshipmen of the same description, on board her on her departure, to endeavour to ascertain the fact, without exposing the object of inquiry; and if one or two of the boat's crew, to be depended upon, could slip into the ship, it is probable

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that the dragoons, or some other marks of his suite, could readily be discovered. This is an affair of delicacy; yet I should be much vexed that he gave us the go-by with a cargo of such importance, for the use of a power on the eve of declaring war against one of our principal Allies. Should the Ambassador avow himself, or be discovered, his character will entitle him to every mark of respect, but he, his retinue and cargo must be detained; but should any difficulty or obstruction arise, you will, of course, bring the Swede down to me.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

GENERAL ORDER.—TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

H. M. S. Victory, 7th June, 1796.

IT is directed that the bedding of the respective ships' companies of the fleet be shaken and aired regularly once a-week during the summer months, and as frequently in winter as the weather will permit. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 10th June, 1796.

SIR,

I acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, last evening, having observed a French cruizer working up to Hyères Bay, within the islands, I called Captain Macnamara, of his Majesty's ship the Southampton, on board the Victory, pointed the ship out, and directed him to make a dash at her through the grand pass, which he performed with admirable spirit and alacrity; and I beg leave to refer their Lordships to his statement enclosed, for the detail of this gallant action, which calls upon me to give an order to

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Lieut. Lydiard to command L'Utile corvette, which, I trust, will merit the approbation of their Lordships.*

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY FRANCIS DRAKE, ESQ.

Victory, off Toulon, 13th June, 1796.

SIR,

I yesterday was honoured with your letter of the 21st May, informing me that Colonel Graham† is appointed to reside constantly with the Austrian army, for the purpose of carrying on the correspondence relative to the operations of it, &c., and I have addressed a letter to him accordingly. I am happy to learn that you will allow me to continue corresponding with you.

Nothing very material has happened during the two months that I have been in this position: the enemy bears the blockade of Toulon with Christian patience. Captain Troubridge, who commands the light squadron, never is two miles from the entrance; and I keep as near as my heavy sailing ships will enable me. I enclose Captain Macnamara's statement of a very neat *coup* performed by the Southampton a few days ago. Of Commodore Nelson's brilliant services you, no doubt, have an account from himself.

* The capture of the Utile should be mentioned. Sir John Jervis had frequently observed her under weigh for exercise in Hyères Bay, under cover of the French batteries. On the evening of the 9th of June, the Admiral called Captain Macnamara on board the flag-ship, and pointed out the corvette as an "eye-sore." The hint was understood. The Southampton stood in; and in the morning Captain Macnamara presented his trophy to his Commander-in-chief; and he instantly rewarded Lieutenant Lydiard, who headed the boarders, with promotion to command the prize so handsomely won.

† The present gallant Lord Lynedoch.

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The fleet continues healthy, and I have sanguine hopes of being able to maintain my post for four months to come, at least.

I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO SIR GILBERT ELLIOT.

Victory, off Toulon, 25th June, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

I trouble you with a few more prisoners by the Southampton, as it is of great importance to prevent such excellent seamen as these from getting back to Toulon; for the crews of the Nemesis, La Sardine, Postillon, L'Unité, and L'Utile, would give the proportion of seamen to three line-of-battle ships.

The enemy is frequently on the alert when we stand near the shore; and the light squadron under Captain Troubridge keeps the batteries in a continual blaze. Except an unlucky shot in the bowsprit of the Bombay Castle, (from the captain preferring measurement of distance by a quadrant, to the angle and marks taken by his skilful commodore,) not a shot has taken effect. I am determined not to budge from hence, and I only want the Dolphin, hospital ship, to receive our worst patients, to make us very comfortable; and I will thank you to release Captain Retalick, by a line, when Lady Elliot is settled. Captain Foley joined us this morning. The Southampton conveys the corn-ships to Gibraltar, and Captain Macnamara will be proud to obey your commands.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

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TO COMMODORE NELSON.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 1st July, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

It must have occurred to you to leave the Meleager and Blanche in the blockade of Leghorn while you are absent. I believe Captain Hotham will decline La Minerve, and Captain Cockburn shall, in that case, have her: she carries the new builder to Ajaccio, who has promised me to fit her well. When she rejoins, if you can spare the Meleager, the exchange shall be made under my eye, which will prevent any discontent on either side.

The Viceroy will propose to you the aiding him with men to command some Garda da Costas he proposes to fit out, and I leave him entirely to your decision, for I cannot spare a man from the fleet.

While the French exercise the government of Leghorn, it is a joke to suppose it a Tuscan port, and you will, of course, act accordingly.

I heartily wish you health, increase of honour, &c.

I remain, Dear Sir, &c. &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 5th July, 1796.

SIR,

I enclose the sentence of a court-martial on Lieut. William Humphry Faulknor, of H. M. sloop the Petterell, with a letter, signed by Vice-Admiral Waldegrave and the members, interceding with the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for a mitigation of the sentence, in consideration of his youth, inexperience, and some circumstances that have appeared in the course of his trial; and I beg leave to express my hope that the signal services performed by his ancestors, the glorious achievements of his late gallant

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brother, which reflected the brightest lustre on his Majesty's arms, and the assuaging the grief of a deeply-afflicted mother may have additional weight with their Lordships to attend to the representation of the Court.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO CONSUL GREGORY, AT BARCELONA.

Victory, off Toulon, 5th July, 1796.

SIR,

The Captain of the packet your brother took his passage in complained of detention, when the whole delay did not take up more than one hour.

The Court of Spain is probably not yet informed that the French commissaries in the Genoese territories make a practice of selling the Austrian prisoners to the agents employed to recruit the Spanish army. A complaint will soon come in from the Court of Vienna upon this subject. One hundred and forty grenadiers, taken in one of the last actions, were discovered by Commodore Nelson on board a Genoese vessel. The Spanish agent begged the affair might be hushed up; but the commodore has my orders to represent it to the Austrian General. We pay particular attention to the subjects of Spain, and the most precise orders are given respecting a communication with vessels coming from places on the Barbary coast, where the plague has obtained.

May I request of you to obtain a passage to Alguasiris, Malaga, or Cadiz, in a Spanish ship of war, for Mr. Faulknor, brother to the late gallant captain of the Blanche, who distinguished himself so highly at Martinique, and afterwards in taking the Pique, on which occasion he fell like Epaminondas.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

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GENERAL ORDER.—TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

H. M. S. Victory, 6th July, 1796.

THE utmost frugality in the consumption of fuel and candles being necessary, the Admiral directs that no fire be lighted in the ranges of the respective ships of the fleet until 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and that it be put out as soon as the captain's dinner is served; and not lighted again till the following day at the same hour, the stoves being sufficient for breakfast.

All lights to be put out at 8 o'clock in the evening, except the captains' and officers'. J. JERVIS.

GENERAL ORDER.—TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

H. M. S. Victory, at sea, 9th July, 1796.

WHEN the general signal is made for close, or closer order, it frequently applies to the too great distance between the divisions as well as the distance of ships from each other in their respective lines; and the order of sailing being chiefly intended as a practice of the line-of-battle, the ships should keep the masts of their leading ships in one, and so calculate their rate of sailing as to be able to reduce it to the hauling down or hoisting a staysail; and the backing a mizen-topsail should be studiously avoided, as it always throws the ship to leeward of her station in the line. J. JERVIS.

TO COMMISSIONER COFFIN.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 11th July, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

Many thanks for all your good things, but you have distressed me exceedingly by the delay in fitting the Téméraire, and defeated an embassy I am now sending to the

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Dey by Captain Fremantle, with a squadron of frigates. For God's sake! lose no time in despatching this business, for the continuance of peace with Algiers depends upon it. If you think the Gorgon more applicable to the service in Ajaccio than the Alliance, keep and fit the other for Lady Elliot. Do not agitate yourself; I will bear you through and carry you through the calumnies of miserable intriguers, who are not worthy to loose the latchet of your shoe.

God bless you! J. JERVIS.

TO CAPTAIN FREMANTLE, H. M. S. INCONSTANT.

(Most secret and confidential.)

Victory, off Toulon, 14th July, 1796.

By SIR JOHN JERVIS, K. B. Admiral of the Blue, &c. &c. &c.

WHEREAS I have received intelligence from Mr. Smith His Majesty's Charge d'Affaires at Constantinople, from Mr. Werry, Consul at Smyrna, and other quarters, that the French republican ship la Justice has committed violent acts of hostility on the ships and subjects of his Majesty's allies, and on neutral vessels navigating in the Archipelago, blocked the channel of the Dardanelles, and prevented the departure of a rich English ship, called the Camilla, of, and belonging to Hull, from Constantinople, in her voyage to Smyrna. You are hereby required and directed to use your utmost endeavours to sink, burn, or destroy the said ship, and any other French republican ships or vessels you may fall in with; to effect which, I recommend to you to proceed without a pilot, to give Coron a good berth, or pass it in the night, to avoid Milo, Zira, Tino, and Miconi, (to prevent intelligence of your approach being conveyed by the activity of the French Consuls, and Agents at those places,) and push directly for Tenedos, unless you gain information which may direct you otherwise.

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In the pursuit of this important object, you will take care not to violate our treaties with the Sublime Porte, by attacking the enemy's ships under Her castles, in Her harbours, or within gun-shot of Her inhabited coasts; and having done your utmost to perform this service, you are to proceed to Smyrna, and take under your convoy any trade of His Majesty's subjects, or of His Allies, that may be ready and willing to take your protection down the Mediterranean, and proceed with them to Mostello Bay, in the island of Corsica, touching at Messina, or any other port you may from circumstances judge more expedient to ascertain the real state of affairs, in Italy and Corsica, and the position of His Majesty's fleet under my command, which, from exigencies arising out of this extraordinary war, may be changed, and you are to act accordingly.

As the success of this enterprise very much depends on secresy, rapid movements, and concealment of the nation to which you belong, it will be advisable when you speak with strange ships to hoist the enemy's or neutral colours, Venetian preferably to any other, and to give directions to the ships under your orders, to use every precaution in clothing the boats' crews accordingly, and covering their heads with red caps, and practising every other device you think best calculated to impose.

When near the entrance of the Dardanelles, and your squadron is discovered to be English, you will communicate with Mr. Smith at Constantinople by letter, and use every means in your power to impress the Turkish Government with the power and superiority of his Majesty's navy over that of the enemy in these seas; paying respect and attention to their cruisers, pachas, or commanders you may meet with.

For your guidance, I enclose extracts of letters I have received from the persons alluded to in the first part of these Instructions.

J. JERVIS.

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TO HIS HIGHNESS THE DEY OF ALGIERS.

His Britannic Majesty's ship the Victory, off Toulon,
14th July, 1796.

SIR,

I am happy in this opportunity to express my respect for Your Highness' person and character, and to assure Your Highness that I shall derive the greatest satisfaction in shewing kindness to Your subjects, and in preserving the peace and amity which has so long and happily subsisted between Great Britain and Algiers.

I think it my duty to make known to Your Highness that these seas are much infested with Genoese pirates, in row-boats, carrying the tri-coloured flag; and I have been informed that one of them has lately captured and carried into Algiers an English transport, loaded with grain from Sicily, bound to England; I persuade myself, from Your Highness' justice and penetration, a proper distinction will be made between the picaroons and the real French armed vessels.

I have held the port of Toulon in blockade by the fleet of The King, my Royal Master, during the last three months, and only one corvette (L'Utile) has got out, which was taken by the Southampton, under Fort Bregançon, within the island Hyères, which I state to your Highness to shew that the French can have few or no real cruisers at sea; L'Alerte brig is the only one I know of, and she is skulking about on the coast of Alicante, to avoid a small corvette which I sent after her.

If Your Highness has any British or Corsican seamen at Algiers, I request you will cause them to be delivered to Captain Fremantle, of his Majesty's ship the Inconstant, who will have the honour to present this letter.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Highness', &c. J. JERVIS.

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TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

Memorandum. H. M. S. Victory, at sea, 14th July, 1796.

THERE being reason to apprehend that a number of women have been clandestinely brought from England in several ships, more particularly so in those which have arrived in the Mediterranean in the last and the present year, the respective Captains are required by the Admiral to admonish those ladies upon the waste of water, and other disorders committed by them, and to make known to all, that on the first proof of water being obtained for washing from the scuttle-butt or otherwise, under false pretences, in any ship, every woman in the fleet who has not been admitted under the authority of the Admiralty or the Commander-in-chief, will be shipped for England by the first convoy, and the officers are strictly enjoined to watch vigilantly their behaviour, and to see that no waste or improper consumption of water happen in future. J. JERVIS.

GENERAL ORDER.

H. M. S. Victory, at sea, 14th July, 1796.

COMMISSIONER COFFIN having represented to the Commander-in-chief that a foresail was lately sent on shore to the naval arsenal at Ajaccio from H. M. S. Bombay Castle (reported by a survey held on board that ship, to have been much worn, and unfit for its proper use, by the Masters of the Egmont, Sincère, and Southampton), was reserved by Mr. Chiene, the master attendant, and found not to have been more than half worn; the Masters of the above ships are hereby reprimanded for such gross neglect of duty, and for the levity with which they declare in the said report, that they have taken the survey with such care

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and equity, that they are ready to make oath to the impartiality of their proceedings; and the Master and Boatswain of the Bombay Castle are also very culpable for having stated that the foresail in question required to be surveyed, and they are hereby reprimanded accordingly. J. JERVIS.

TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, K.B.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 15th July, 1796.

SIR,

I am honoured with your Excellency's letter of —— by Lord Garlies, and another of ——, a copy of which I have sent to the Viceroy. I have not been unmindful of your situation, and that of my fair countrywomen in Italy, and have them continually in my mind's eye. A line-of-battle-ship I cannot spare, my numbers being small; but a frigate has always been ready to fly to your protection. The Pope having made his peace, and Naples having entered into an armistice, I am in some degree relieved from the apprehensions I felt for Lady Hamilton and you.

It would be great injustice to the cabinet of Naples not to admit that it showed great vigour until the republican army took post in the centre of Italy. The Austrian army has been miserably deficient in point of number, and the councils of Vienna seem to have wanted that energy by which alone these devils can be checked; it is not too late yet, if the new parliament will sanction a large loan.

Sir, your Excellency's, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 18th July, 1796.

SIR,

In answer to Mr. Bosanquet's application for a permanent force to be constantly kept in the Levant, I have

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to remark, that it does not appear to me so necessary as to justify the starving other pressing services in the Mediterranean. If the British Factory at Smyrna would have a little patience, and give timely information, sufficient convoys would be provided: but I dare not trust any person in trade with the movements of His Majesty's ships; so sure as I do, it is betrayed to the enemy somehow or other, while I gain no intelligence worth a sous. Every loss from Smyrna that has been sustained since my arrival, may be justly imputed to the precipitation of the parties concerned.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 18th July, 1796.

SIR,

I desire you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that the moment I was informed of the outrageous conduct of the French general, Buonaparte, on entering Leghorn, I despatched orders to Commodore Nelson to hold the port in the strictest blockade, and to cooperate with the Viceroy of Corsica in every measure for the protection of that island, and to prevent, as much as possible, the enemy from throwing supplies into Corsica, and tampering with the inhabitants, which service, and the enterprise against Porto Ferrajo, their lordships will perceive by the enclosed letters, and other documents from him, he has conducted in his wonted manner. Lieutenant Edward Berry, of whom the Commodore writes so highly, is a *protegé* of mine, and I know him to be an officer of talents, great courage, and laudable ambition. It is scarcely necessary for me to point out to their lordships the importance of Porto Ferrajo, both in war and peace. By adding it to the British dominions, and by a little more wisdom in the regulation of quarantine, we shall obtain the

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whole trade of the Levant, except what the French must, from the vicinity of their territory, share with us.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

H. M. S. Victory, 22nd July, 1796.

THE Admiral having observed a flippancy in the behaviour of Officers when coming upon the Victory's Quarter-deck, and sometimes in receiving orders from a superior Officer, and that they do not pull off their hats, and some not even touch them: it is his positive direction, that any Officer who shall in future so far forget this essential duty of respect and subordination, be admonished publicly; and he expects the Officers of the Victory will set the example by taking off their hats, and not touch them with an air of negligence. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 22nd July, 1796.

SIR,

Having represented to the Commissioners of the Victualling, in a letter dated the 26th April, the great difficulty the Pursers of His Majesty's ships under my command labour under in purchasing fuel at any price, with the heavy consumption in heating the forges for making and repairing the whole iron-work of the fleet, and submitted to the Board the propriety of ballasting the ships which brought out the dry provisions with coals; and having, also, requested the Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy to ballast the storeships with coals, to be charged against the pursers, without receiving any reply to either letter, I desire you will move the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to give such directions thereupon as their

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lordships shall judge fit: for, as far as I can foresee, nothing but distress in fuel will compel me to retire from this position before the winter months.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 27th July, 1796.

SIR,

The aptitude shown by the principal Officers and Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy Board to censure my conduct, and that of the Captains of the fleet I have the honour to command, for irregularities in the purchase of stores, arises from their want of local knowledge. It has frequently happened that Captains, refitting their ships at San Fiorenzo, have been under the necessity of writing to Leghorn for stores, and never afterwards have entered that port to do what is required by their instructions, Articles *52* and *53*, — as in the case of Captain Sutton, of the Egmont, and the ships under his orders, when I first arrived. Other instances have occurred, during Admiral Hotham's command, of the fleet going off suddenly in quest of the enemy; and some few ships not returning to Leghorn. In short, I see no disposition amongst the Captains to err in this branch of duty, which it is their interest to perform correctly; but the nature of the service, since I took the command, has admitted of little deliberation, for the Navy Board cannot accuse me of going into port or remaining there.

With respect to spars for topmasts and yards, which I was compelled to order from Mr. Chiene, at Leghorn, (before the arrival of the last storeships,) to supply those carried away in the very many heavy gales we have had to contend with during the blockade of Toulon, it is still in doubt whether Commissioner Coffin or I are to pay for them; for, unless he and Commissioner Inglefield transact the

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business wherein the public money is disbursed, I really see very little use they are of, either at Gibraltar or Ajaccio. I request you will submit these observations to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and implore their lordships to direct the impress to be taken off the Captains' shoulders, as the dread of them affects their minds in a degree not easily imagined by those who have not felt it. I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 27th July, 1796.

SIR,

The Commissioners of the Transport Board do not comprehend the large scale on which transports are at present employed in the Mediterranean; a sufficient tonnage to convey the troops, British subjects, and French emigrants, with their baggage and merchandize, and all the public stores and ammunition, is required for the evacuation of Corsica in case of exigency. The arrangement of provisions for the ready supply of the fleet employs several, others are employed to bring cattle from distant coasts; some to water the fleet at sea; Sir William Hamilton has applied for two or three to be placed at Naples for the removal of the valuables belonging to the British there, and Mr. Brame, consul at Genoa, has done the same. One Lieutenant agent is fixed at Porto Ferraio, one at Ajaccio, one at San Fiorenzo, one attends the bullock ships, another the watering ships, and a sixth for the direction of the troop transports, appointed to be held in constant readiness at Bastia and San Fiorenzo; the principal agent has been occupied with the speculation for a supply of corn, which I fear will turn out very ill, the transports which he authorized to run it, although a convoy was ready, being most of them taken or lost. Captain Craven, if wanted at home,

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may be spared, but there is not a Lieutenant too many, and I have the satisfaction to inform their Lordships that they have merited my approbation in the exertion of their duty. I beg leave to refer you to Captain Freemantle's letter on the retiring of the Factory from Leghorn, for the particularly good, and able, conduct of Lieutenant Grey, and I submit to their Lordships whether some mark of their favour should not be conferred on him; Admiral Hotham will bear testimony to his very meritorious behaviour on former occasions. I am, Sir, &c., J. JERVIS.

TO COMMODORE NELSON.

Victory, off Toulon, 31st July, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

There is great wisdom and sound judgment in every line of the Viceroy's letter; act up to it and you cannot err. We have no business with Vado, or Port Especia, until the Austrians enter Piedmont. Do not let any vessel come out of Leghorn Mole, full or empty, with impunity, unless the Viceroy advises. B——, upon his death-bed, would take money from Swede, Dane, or devil.

I wish you would send the Petrell to Trieste, to reinforce Miller; and recommend to Colonel Graham, if you have any means of communicating with him, that the Austrian flotilla shall be put under Captain Miller's orders. If you can write in cypher to Drake at Venice to this effect, it perhaps may be more speedily carried into execution.

I have ordered two transports, wanting repair, to Genoa, for that purpose; and they may be employed afterwards, in bringing bullocks and lemons. Two, under the like circumstances, are ordered to Naples, and, after repairing, to load with valuable articles from thence. When you write to Mr. Jackson at Turin, make my excuses for not replying to his letter, on the score of ignorance how to

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convey it. T—— is ordered to Ajaccio, to complete his sails, cordage, and slops, and then to follow your orders.

I have sent the proposals of Messrs. Caffarina to Heatly. I think the lemons high. I, the other day, purchased of a Dane, who loaded there, at nineteen livres the case. Go on and prosper. J. JERVIS.

TO CAPTAIN TYLER, H. M. S. L'AIGLE.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 2nd August, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

The reason of my wishing you to avoid an interference of Captain Miller and his squadron is, that I have requested of the Emperor, through Sir Morten Eden, and others of the King's ministers at foreign courts, to give full power to him in equipping a flotilla, and carrying it into service; and if you cut him down, it may lower his credit with the Austrians, and defeat the plan he is forming; nevertheless, should the enemy's frigates escape the vigilance of my light squadron, and get into the Adriatic, you must, of necessity, compress the whole force we have there, to give him battle. God prosper your undertaking, and be assured I have the firmest reliance on your skill, judgment, and courage, in carrying it into execution. You will find good anchorage, in an easy depth of water, from Ancona all along the Popish and Venetian territory.

Yours sincerely, J. JERVIS.

TO THE EARL SPENCER.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 11th August, 1796.

MY LORD,

The lowering aspect of Spain, with the advanced state of the equipment of the French fleet in Toulon, has impelled me to concentrate my force; and I have carried into

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effect the intention I had the honour to hint to your Lordship in my letter of the 18th July, by ordering Commodore Nelson to hoist his broad pendant on board such frigate or sloop under his orders, as he may from time to time see fit.

The persons who fill the vacancies of lieutenants occacasioned by this measure are Mr. John Davies, and a young man of friendless merit, who was not so much as named by —— either to me, Captains Calder or Grey, although we have found him most deserving.

I have the honour to be
Your Lordship's very faithful and obedient servant,
J. JERVIS.

TO THOMAS JACKSON, ESQ.

Secretary of Legation at Turin.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 15th August, 1796.

SIR,

From a Swiss dealer in human flesh the demand made upon me to deliver up 152 Austrian Grenadiers serving on board his Majesty's fleet under my command is natural enough; but that a Spaniard, who is a noble creature, should join in such a demand, I must confess astonishes me; and I can only account for it by the Chevalier Caamano being ignorant that the persons in question were made prisoners of war, in the last affair with General Beaulieu, and are not deserters, and that they were most basely sold by the French Commissaries in the Western Riviera of Genoa, to the vile crimps who recruit for the foreign regiments in the service of Spain. It is high time a stop should be put to this abominable traffic, a million times more disgraceful than the African slave trade, and I trust the strong remonstrances about to be made by the Court of Vienna to the Court of Madrid will produce the desired

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effect; in the meanwhile, I request you will make my acknowledgments to Mr. Wickham for the judicious manner in which he treated the subject in his correspondence with the Chevalier Caamano.

I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO THE VICEROY OF CORSICA.

Victory, off Toulon, 22nd August, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

Totally ignorant as I am of the intention of government respecting Corsica, or, indeed, of the plan of operation in Italy, farther than being ordered to co-operate, my opinion upon the critical state of the island, as it regards us, is not worth sending. At the same time, that I may not appear shabby to withhold it, I am free to say, that if the Corsicans do not manfully resist the machinations of the enemy, it would be very bad policy indeed to continue in possession of the ports, longer than is absolutely necessary for our own convenience. Porto Ferrajo will be a very good transfer, equally *à porté* to Leghorn; and while the Austrians make any stand in Italy, I conclude it will be the policy of our cabinet to bolster them up; for should the fleet be withdrawn, the French will be masters of the Adriatic, give the law to Naples, take possession of Sicily, and, in short, *bouleversé* the whole system in Italy.

The despatches by the Valiant lugger will, I trust, clear up our doubts; in the meanwhile I enclose the copy of a paper which I gave in to Lord Spencer, at his request, the latter end of October, which was laid before the cabinet; but I could not obtain a sentence of reply to any one point.

I have the honor to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

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Queries submitted to Earl Spencer, by Admiral Sir John Jervis, on his taking the command of the Squadron employed in the Mediterranean, in October, 1795, and to which he never received any answers.

I.

Various pretences may be used by Spain, to employ a squadron in the Mediterranean, such as conveying the Princess of Parma to Italy, protecting her trade, visiting her ports, particularly Port Mahon, and, under any of these pretexts, a junction with the French at Toulon is very practicable.

Query, what measures can be taken to defeat such a design?

II.

In case such a junction is effected—which might give the enemy a very great superiority over His Majesty's ships—with evident signs of hostility on the part of Spain, what then is to be the conduct of the British Fleet?

III.

Should it be found expedient under the above circumstances to quit the present position, and proceed down the Mediterranean, measures must be taken respecting Corsica, upon which some secret instructions may have been given; in any event the stores and provisions for the supply of the Fleet should be kept afloat; and to provide for other exigences, a few large armed transports would afford great resource.

IV.

Gibraltar and its environs will require a considerable degree of attention, both on account of supplies to the garrison, and the general trade, to and from the Mediterranean, to effect which, and to furnish occasional convoys, two sixty-four-gun ships, four frigates, and two sloops appear to be necessary.

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V.

Should Portugal be threatened with an invasion, she will probably receive succour from England; nevertheless, as she may, upon the spur of the occasion, look to the Mediterranean for assistance, I submit the possible case.

VI.

It will be very desirable to have the point in dispute, touching the jurisdiction of the Navy over the troops serving as marines, terminated before my departure.

TO THE VICTUALLING BOARD.

Victory, off Toulon, 17th August, 1796.

GENTLEMEN,

From the failure of the supplies of live cattle since the enemy has been in possession of Leghorn, I have been under great apprehensions of a return of the scurvy; and upon consulting the physician of the fleet, and Mr. Weir, surgeon of the Victory, who possesses extensive knowledge and judgment, I am confirmed in an opinion I have long entertained, that, next to fresh animal food, onions and lemons are the best antiscorbutics and antiseptics. I have, therefore, ordered a supply from Genoa and Barcelona: the latter, from the accounts I have lately received, will come at a high price; but, circumstanced as I am, in my nineteenth week at sea, with a prospect of being obliged to keep it until the contending armies in Italy retire into winter-quarters, no price is too great to preserve the health of the fleet.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

J. JERVIS.

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TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Victory, off Toulon, 20th August, 1796.

SIR,

I desire you will communicate to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Captain Freemantle has conducted the negociation with the Dey of Algiers in a very superior style indeed; and when I have an opportunity of transmitting the detail to you for their Lordships' information, I am persuaded he will be found to merit their commendation. The marked respect shown to his Majesty's flag by three Algerine cruizers, which are now turning up to the fleet, is a strong proof of the good effect of this mode of treating with barbarians.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO THE EARL SPENCER.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 25th August, 1796.

MY LORD,

The precipitation with which Rear-Admiral —— abandoned his position before Cadiz may have serious consequences, for he came up very bare of provisions, and we do not abound; and I fear the advices he sent to the coast of Portugal may tend to impede the passage of the supplies coming out. In the mean while I have directed the Agent Victualler at Gibraltar to send me all the provisions from thence he can spare.

Affairs in Corsica are approaching their crisis; and I fear the Viceroy, for whom I have the highest respect, has been very much deceived by the party he has espoused. Porto Ferrajo is an easy transfer, and I conclude it will end in removing the troops, stores, &c. thither.

From the enclosed, your Lordship will perceive how very

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unfit the ablest of the *Corps Diplomatique* are to negociate with barbarians; and that strong nerves and manly sense are superior to the art and finesse of the European mode of treating. I am of opinion that, before I quit the Mediterranean, it will be highly proper for me to visit the Regencies of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, accompanied by a respectable squadron, in order to leave a lasting impression on the minds of these people of the vigour of our own character, and the decided pre-eminence we have over all other maritime powers in skill, discipline, and subordination, — for I can now with confidence assure your lordship that this fleet, which, when I took the command of it, was piteous with respect to the two latter attributes, is shaping fast into a very complete system.

Captain Miller has answered the description given of him by all the officers of character here, and has raised the minds of the people at Trieste from abject despair to perfect confidence; and I have no doubt Captain Tyler, and the other two captains of his little squadron, who are valuable officers, will acquit themselves to my entire satisfaction.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,
Your lordship's, &c.
J. JERVIS.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

H. M. S. Victory, at sea, 28th August, 1796.

THE Commander-in-chief having observed that the expenditure of topsail-yards on board the Barfleur has arisen from the lifts not being boused sufficiently taut when the reefs were in; and that her main and fore-yards are in danger from the lifts not being boused taut after the yards are braced up, directs that particular attention is paid to this necessary means of preserving the lower and topsail-yards in every ship in the fleet. J. JERVIS.

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TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 29th August, 1796.

MY DEAR NEPEAN,

The Egmont is the best third-rate I have in all solid respects, except the Culloden, Gibraltar, Bombay Castle, and Excellent. The copper of the Courageux and Captain is very defective, — many sheets off so low down in the garboard strake, and I fear the whole will blow: but it would break Ben Hallowell's heart to go home.

I am afraid of being thought a puffer like many of my brethren, or I should have dealt out the merits of Captain Troubridge, which are very uncommon. I never saw him before my arrival at San Fiorenzo.

Your letter about Mr. Stuart, through Consul Udney, I have not received; but I was so sensible of the propriety of his continuing with Sir Charles Knowles, that I had concocted with him the placing him in the Terpsichore, when Master Herbert took himself off to Lisbon, without his chest and bedding: this is "out of the frying-pan into the fire!" If you will order him to join me, he shall go either with Freemantle, Tyler, Morris, George Hope, Bowen or Miller, who are excellent examples for a young man.

Circumstanced as I am, I could not possibly avoid making Nelson an established Commodore, and I rely on Lord Spencer's judgment to bear me out in it; for, whatever may be reported of the force in Toulon, it will soon outnumber mine, and if these people were not now cowed, they might plague me confoundedly.

Most truly yours, J. JERVIS.

I see Lord ——— is one of the sixteen Peers. I hope this will not give him the Marines in preference to such a man as Troubridge.

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TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 3rd September, 1796.

SIR,

Twelve sail of the line, six frigates, and several corvettes, have been in the outer road of Toulon some time, apparently ready for sea in all respects, except that the line-of-battle ships have not the whole of their sails bent. Three line-of-battle ships and several frigates are fitting slowly above the sheers; and two of the line are said to be running-up their upper works in the basin, after launching. From the unremitting vigilance of Captain Troubridge, and the judicious disposition of the ships under his orders, no ship, save L'Utile, has got out of Toulon during the five months we have been here. In this arduous service he has been well supported by the Captains Hood and Hallowell of the Zealous and Courageux; and latterly by Captain Sotheby, of the Bombay Castle.

The head of the foremast of the Zealous having become a bundle of laths, and defective in other parts, I sent to Ajaccio for a new one on the 30th ultimo. I beg permission to repeat to their lordships the failure of the lower masts, which, I really believe, is occasioned either by want of skill, or bad workmanship in the making; and to represent that the topmasts give way below the mast-heads, from being drawn too tapering; and, in many instances, the best fibres of the stick are cut away, in order to form the mast according to a very absurd rule by which the mast-makers are governed. I have long been of opinion (from attentive observations while I commanded a guardship) that many inefficient men are employed in our mast houses; the number is incredible compared with the labour they perform.

The copper of the St. George, Captain, and Courageux,

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is off in many places, very low down; in other respects they are sound ships, and their commanders men after my own heart, with whom I should be very sorry to part.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, off Toulon, 24th September, 1796.

SIR,

I have received an order from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, dated 12th July, to contract with M. Donato Orsi, a banker of Florence, for the supply of live cattle necessary for the fleet, in case I find they can be procured with equal convenience as at present from Leghorn, and the advantages proposed should be likely to be obtained. This measure being totally defeated by the enemy having taken possession of Leghorn, gives me time to unmask and develope to their Lordships the ground on which the proposition, made through Mr. Wyndham, originated. Messrs. Porter and Huddart, of Leghorn, were the persons who received the profits of all the business done for the fleet before my arrival, although Mr. Udny, his Majesty's consul, was the ostensible person. The former of these gentlemen being considered as the most astute character in Italy, I was very early on my guard against his designs; and soon after my arrival at Leghorn, in the month of February last, having fathomed his depth in treating for a bread-contract, in which he attempted to overreach me most grossly, I determined never to have another transaction with him. I endeavoured in vain to get at the agreement he had made with my predecessors for the supply of cattle; but as the business had been well done, and Admiral Hotham, whom I knew to be a virtuous man, had not investigated the transaction, I felt the less regret at leaving Leghorn without achieving my purpose. The mo-

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ment after I had put the supply of cattle into other hands, on the same terms, he (Mr. Porter), in concert with M. Donato Orsi, used every art and machination to defeat the supply, and tampered with the farmers and drovers for this purpose, in hopes of compelling me to come back to him. Failing in this, Mr. Huddart was despatched to England with credentials from Mr. Wyndham, who never communicated the subject to me. This is not the only time his Majesty's minister at the Court of Florence has ventured to travel out of the road to answer the purposes of these gentlemen; for, since the enemy has been in possession of Leghorn, he applied to me to grant permission for them to have an exclusive trade out of the port under his passport; and on my refusal, for reasons of too serious a nature respecting Mr. Porter to commit to paper, he wrote to Commodore Nelson to say he expected his passports would be respected.

After this explanation, I trust their Lordships will not require me to engage in any transaction with the persons aforementioned, but will have the goodness to put it into other hands, for I should feel myself disgraced and contaminated to put my signature to any deed in which they are concerned. I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

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CHAPTER VII.

Reverses of the Allies in Italy, and the defection of Spain, occasion the recal of Sir John Jervis' Fleet.—Evacuation of Corsica, and retreat to Gibraltar.—Lord Spencer's communication to Sir John Jervis that a Peerage would be conferred upon him.

WHILE Sir John Jervis, with unabating vigour, was blockading the port of Toulon, the events in Italy of the campaign were frustrating his services. The British fleet kept the French out of the Mediterranean; Buonaparte was hastening the recal of the British fleet. It is again necessary to see how the rushing tide of Continental affairs bore upon it.

The news of Beaulieu's defeat stupified the Aulic Council into a delay, which was of itself sufficient to enable the conqueror to take measures for blighting his opponents' hopes of retrieving their fortune, and Buonaparte did not neglect the opportunity. Though he had a moment's breathing-time from battle, he clearly saw that a heavier storm was gathering under the redoubtable skill of Wurmser, conducting overpowering reinforcements from the Rhine; wherefore, in anticipation of the struggle which he could not avoid, he availed himself of the invaluable lull so to follow up on the Italian Courts the moral effect of his prodigious victories, that, by at

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least neutralising their powers, Austria, single-handed, should be his only antagonist.

We have already seen the great inconvenience which the hostility of Genoa was to Sir John Jervis' fleet. They were now to be excluded from Naples. Pardonably might her gallant Queen hesitate at the advance of the conqueror's legions, when Kings and Councils and Nations quailed; yet was that, and but for a moment, the only sign of vacillation which that heroic lady manifested. A Council met on the crisis; she herself was present: but "though she brought a man's mind, yet had she but a woman's strength." In vain she dissuaded it, — entreated, implored — her senseless husband, or his coward minister overpowered her advice, and craved an armistice: but none could be obtained which did not exclude all but powerless detachments of the British fleet from the Neapolitan ports; and a peace with the Directory soon followed. Of the Italian territories the Papal and the Tuscan alone remained friendly to England: but they were only ostensibly so, for fear had long ago terminated their pretended neutrality. And now the Pope, — his army defeated, his territory menaced, and himself dreading the vengeance, to inflict which the Directory primarily justified the invasion, — helplessly fell under the conqueror's wiles, and purchased a peace by, as Sir John Jervis predicted to the Admiralty, "the spoils of Rome's temples and palaces, and the prostration of the Vatican at the foot of atheists."

For outrage on Tuscany no justifiable cause appeared; but as Wurmser's daily-nearing approach

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made the delay of negotiation a farce, to say the least, of very dangerous duration, Buonaparte resorted to a most groundless charge of the breach of the neutrality by Captain Nelson to justify a violation of the Ducal territory; and Leghorn was occupied so suddenly, that it was with great difficulty the British Factory, or any of their property, was saved. Protection, however, was afforded by the active enterprise with which Commodore Nelson executed his instructions: yet so nigh were the British residents to captivity, that the French, having entered the city, turned the guns of the forts upon the Inconstant, the frigate which last retired from the port, and hulled her several times.

On the possession of Leghorn by the enemy, and because the contagion of revolutionary principles, and the terror of the calamities which oppressed Italy were daily augmenting the difficulty of retaining Corsica, Sir Gilbert Elliot, justified by the circumstances of the war, determined to enforce an exercise of might on the Tuscan Island of Elba, that a rendezvous containing a depository of stores might be secured for the British fleet withinside Gibraltar. This service, too, was entrusted to Commodore Nelson, who, with a gallantry so exclusively his own, dashed upon Porto Ferrajo, and left it in the possession of the British forces under that most honourable and chivalrous soldier, General De Burgh. For the same political reason, the Commodore and his "fighting squadron," being ordered, occupied Capraja, — well-known feats by that great man in the campaign, and now only just glanced at,

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that refreshed memory may more easily apply Sir John Jervis' letters to the successive events.

But urged without ceasing by Buonaparte to make every effort against England, and chiefly against his greatest obstacle, Sir John Jervis' fleet, the Directory now compelled Spain, a power mighty in naval strength, and with Mediterranean harbours, to take active part against England. So long ago as May it was evident that fear would alienate the Court of Madrid from, first, a languid co-operation with the Allies, then a feigned neutrality, to a renewal of that alliance with the enemy of the House of Austria, which Italian politics and wars had so often before engendered. Such a change, however, of the weights in the scale would turn the odds heavily against the English Navy; for Spain had fifty-seven sail-of-the-line, and a multitude of frigates; and most powerfully would it bear against the Mediterranean fleet, because of the Spanish force, twelve sail-of-the-line, fully manned and equipped, were already within the straits at Carthagena, twenty-five more, and eighteen frigates were at Cadiz, equally ready for immediate service. It was therefore clear that the French Admiral Richery, who had for some time been at Cadiz hastening their departure, would send that force to open the Harbour of Toulon, and that against such an outnumbering enemy Sir John Jervis would be unable to maintain his position of blockade, or cover Corsica, even supposing it were possible to victual his crews. Moreover, the presence at all of the British fleet in the Mediterranean was now

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no longer useful, Italian alliance having dwindled to merely a neutrality with Venice, and even that Buonaparte would not recognize, while Corsica was all but revolutionized.

The treaty itself between France and Spain was not signed till October; but at the end of May it was so clear to Sir John Jervis that the Court of Madrid was vacillating, that thinking his fleet in one as powerful body as the united squadrons could present would be more serviceable to the exigency of the times, than if separated on distant stations, in June he ordered Rear-Admiral Mann to rejoin him from off Cadiz. The Rear-Admiral obeyed promptly; but not having waited to victual his ships before he left his station, nor as he passed Gibraltar, Sir John Jervis having no food to spare him, was obliged to send him back again to Gibraltar for provisions. We have before seen that the squadron consisted of seven sail-of-the-line and three frigates; it is now necessary to keep an eye on the Rear-Admiral's conduct of it. In due time he reported himself at the fortress, and afterwards, that he was victualled, and ready for sea.

In August Spain became openly hostile. Under these and others, the distant circumstances of the war, Rear-Admiral Mann was ordered to immediately rejoin the flag by both the Admiralty and the Commander-in-chief, by whom also a route and a rendezvous were assigned.

It belongs not to the intent of this biography, also it becomes not the incompetent writer to venture his uncalled-for opinion in judgment on the

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exercise of discretion which led the Rear-Admiral with his squadron off his station, and to Spithead! instead of, in obedience to his Commander-in-chief's orders, of which he acknowledged the receipt. That he did thus act is simply stated, because of the immense importance of the step, and of the invaluable strength which a reinforcement of seven sail-of-the-line and five frigates would, at that moment, have brought to Sir John Jervis.*

In November, on the receipt of orders to evacuate Corsica and retreat with the whole naval and military force to Gibraltar, Sir John Jervis repaired to Bastia, to concert with the Viceroy

* TO REAR-ADMIRAL MANN.

Admiralty, 2nd January, 1797.

SIR,

I have received and communicated to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter to me of the 29th ultimo, transmitting duplicates and triplicates of your former letters, and giving an account of your proceedings and of the severe occurrences which have taken place during your passage from Gibraltar, with the squadron under your command; and I have their Lordships commands to acquaint you that they cannot but feel the greatest regret that you should have been induced to return to England with the squadron under your orders, under the circumstances in which you were then placed. The originals of the several letters now transmitted by you in duplicates and triplicates have been received.

I have their lordships further commands to acquaint you that orders will be sent to you either by this or to-morrow's post, to strike your flag, and come on shore! Their Lordship's have ordered the Captain of the Windsor Castle to proceed with her into Hamoaze, in order that she may be paid off.

I am, &c. EVAN NEPEAN.

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the carrying them into effect. The main body of the fleet retired from off Toulon to Corsica, leaving only the inshore squadron, the Culloden, Zealous, and Courageux, at the mouth of the harbour; but their orders were to join the Admiral in a week. The dismantling Bastia was entrusted to Commodore Nelson, with two sail-of-the-line and a frigate. The remainder of the fleet went to the Bay of San Fiorenzo, and the destruction of the forts, and the embarkation of the cannon, immediately commenced. For some time every day had increased the imminent danger to our troops of remaining in the island. It is true that Commodore Nelson, stationed to interrupt the Directory's emissaries, had been very successful; but it was impossible to cover every creek and inlet; and thus great numbers eluded his vigilance, and excited open revolt, assisted by the assassin's stiletto. Nor was it a wonder that the poison which Buonaparte's agent, Gentile, instilled, and the astounding events of the Italian campaign circulated among the ignorant Corsicans, infuriated that ignorant degraded population; these were times when a very small particle of revolutionizing leaven was ample to bewilder the judgment of the enlightened nations. As, therefore, might have been anticipated, the first step towards dismantling the forts was the general signal for defection; and it was as much as our soldiers could do to cover the working parties of the sailors. Every Corsican was an enemy; the faintest vestiges of systematic government vanished, and the whole Island was at the mercy of a lawless populace, sup-

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plied by the French with arms, and well knowing that the most outrageous plunder, the most atrocious murder, if not rewarded, would certainly be protected. The weather, moreover, was torrents of rain; the roads were soon broken up. But, as Sir John Jervis wrote to Sir Gilbert Elliot at the time, "trouble was a word which had long ceased to be found in a sailor's dictionary," and so the work proceeded, and was done. The forts were all dismantled, the cannon dragged down, and, with the stores, embarked. The fleet then moved out from Fiorenzo to Martello Bay, beyond the reach of the enemy's guns from the heights. But, that all such important services should have been performed without the loss of a single man, in such unfavourable times, such inhospitable weather, when the tide of war and fortune were running so strong against the retreating party, and they had nothing left but courage to stimulate exertions, and their fortitude to oppose to mortification and endurance, has always appeared among those remarkable achievements which only the steadiness of discipline and bravery can accomplish.

The retreat to Gibraltar would be the last powerful protection thither for our mercantile shipping and convoys; intelligence had therefore been sent to the Archipelago to gather together all that could anywhere be found. The Levant convoy arrived, and the embarkation of troops and stores was completed a fortnight before the fleet sailed. Captain Collingwood informs us of the delay:—"We waited with the utmost impatience for Admiral Mann,

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whose junction at one time seemed absolutely necessary to our safety. We were all eyes looking westward from the mountain-tops, but we looked in vain; the Spanish fleet, nearly double our number, was cruizing almost in view; and our reconnoitering frigates sometimes got among them while we expected them hourly to be joined by the French fleet."* But no Admiral Mann appeared. At that moment, even if the Rear-Admiral had joined, the disparity of odds would still have been so great against Sir John Jervis as to have precluded a hope of any other than defensive operation, except under circumstances too fortunate to be anticipated. The evacuation of Corsica, the protection of the troops and merchant convoys were his paramount objects.

But, at last, if for no other reason than want of food, longer stay was impossible; all the provisions they had left would, upon the reduced allowance of two upon one, barely suffice for an average passage to the fortress. On the night, therefore, of the 2nd of November, Sir John Jervis sent for Mr. Jackson the Master of the Victory, and said that as he now had not the least hope of being reinforced, he had made up his mind to push down to Gibraltar with all possible despatch. "That he knew the enemy was aware how very short the fleet was of provisions, and that he had given it out that he should run for Cagliari to victual, to a person whom he knew, in reality, to be the enemy's spy, and he therefore doubted not but they supposed such to be his inten-

* Letter to Mr. Blackett, 5th December, 1796.

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tion. So now, Jackson, we must hie to twelve or fourteen leagues north of Minorca, and then strive every nerve, night and day, to get to the Rock."

On the following morning the fleet weighed; thirteen sail-of-the-line, each taking a merchantman or transport in tow. They escaped through the hostile fleets without molestation, though only the day before both of them were seen off the island; the ruse of the spy decoyed them to Cagliari, while for one day the wind blew fresh and fair for Gibraltar. But then suddenly it came from the westward, and in a gale. The Britannia was taken aback, and in her stern-way sunk her vessel in tow. The Culloden's sank by over burthen and pressure; the Excellent and the Captain carried away a lower mast, and other yards and topmasts; but the worst was, the terribly prolonged passage, and the daily diminishing short allowance of food, at last three upon one, to which the crews were reduced, and the bread which was served out was so full of weevil, that it was nearly dust, affording no nourishment; "it was," said an eye-witness,* "downright heart-breaking to see it, and to hear the complaints." But at length, and after a very long passage, on the 1st of December the fleet moored in a crescent in Rosier Bay, and the crews were immediately placed on full allowance. But misfortunes were not yet over; a few days after their arrival at Gibraltar, a hurricane blew the Courageux out of the bay, and she was lost: the Zealous and Gibraltar drifted from their anchors; but though they got safely through

* Mr. Jackson, master of the Victory.

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the Gut, it was necessary to heave the one down, and to send the other to England for repair.

A pause in the narrative here seems advisable; not that the orders which Sir John Jervis found at Gibraltar brought any rest to him, on the contrary, they led to still more arduous duties; but because he retired from these to other scenes, this seems the proper place to present the remaining extracts from his Mediterranean correspondence.

It would have been refreshing if anecdotes, affording a glimpse at the Admiral himself, could have been offered to cheer the reader flagging through a dull narrative of wearisome sea services; but as yet the days of personally approaching this Officer have not arrived. Having in his youth been a reader, sensible of the value of time, and enamoured of the delights of knowledge, it is impossible that her charms can ever have ceased to fascinate him; but it is also known, that he was ever on the search for sterling books, and that his leisure was devoted to reading them. His hours of rising in the morning, and retiring at night, were generally very early. His table was always handsomely appointed, and liberally surrounded; his manners at it, those of the high-bred gentleman. Of the conversation, politics formed no part; though his sentiments on them were decided and strong, yet knowledge of his party could not be acquired, still less felt, from him by any one during his command. Political bias affected not the promotion he bestowed. A meritorious Officer, or, likelier still, the meritorious son of an old Officer, especially if without interest, was generally pro-

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moted before those backed by the influence of the powerful. The stern performance of duty, whether it were of importance, or the most transient trifle, he carried on with punctilious ceremony, and with a gravity of demeanour amounting almost to solemnity; but when disengaged from it, he would sometimes beam forth in gaiety and playfulness, of which also his sailor-mind was constituted.

It is related, that one summer morning when off Toulon, on being called at his usual time, before daybreak, by the Lieutenant of the watch, the Admiral made the general inquiries of the Officer, and was answered that the morning was very fine, the weather nearly calm, the sky cloudless, and the ships of the fleet all in their stations; to which Sir John Jervis replied, "Well, then, I think it is time for me to get up, what do you think?" but the Lieutenant by no means desiring the Commander-in-chief's presence on deck at that hour in the morning, when much additional duty went on, incautiously answered, "I think you had better lie in bed, Sir John."—"Why so, for I cannot sleep?"—"No, but you may rest; and I believe you have not been there many hours." Sir John at once perceived his drift; and being in a playful mood, determined to take a revenge after his humour. "Well, then, since you'll not let me get up—as sleep I cannot,—and idleness, you know, is the mother of mischief—perhaps you will oblige me by bringing a book from the cabin."—"What book do you wish?"—"Any that you can find will do."

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The Lieutenant soon brought one, and it happened to be Locke's Essay, which the Admiral said would do very well; and having requested him to light the candles, he added, "You will now perhaps further oblige me by reading a few pages to me." But this being a result to his advice which the Lieutenant least intended, he made his best endeavour to excuse himself, by reminding the Admiral that the Captain and First-lieutenant would both expect him on deck, to prepare for washing decks, and the other early duties. "Never mind," replied the Admiral; "you know it is nearly calm; no harm can happen, and I will bear you harmless; so sit down and read to me." The Lieutenant, who, though a well-known prime sailor, seldom cast his eye over the inside of a book, found himself much embarrassed, and performed his task so ridiculously that the Admiral was obliged to bite the bed-clothes to prevent a burst of laughter. More than once the reader tried to effect an escape by noticing the arrival of broad daylight; but, at last, when the Admiral had sufficiently indulged his humour, he was allowed to depart. But his absence from deck had indeed caused surprise; and when he re-appeared, the First-lieutenant, who had been waiting for any orders from the Admiral, asked what he could possibly have been so long doing? He then related what had befallen him; that, having thought it would be a good thing to have a quiet morning, he had ventured to recommend the Admiral to continue in bed, for which he had been set down to

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read to him! "Well, and what did he make you read?"—"Oh, how the devil should I know? I was too anxious to get away to think of that."

But it would be unjust to Sir John Jervis, and still more so to his Country, to withdraw with him from these Mediterranean services, without letting the estimation in which She held them stamp them with their real value.

The unshrinking patience and complete effect with which he had conducted this wearisome command, had not escaped Lord Spencer and the executive government. A station of greater obstacles or of less inspiriting encouragement could hardly be imagined. In vain was he formidable in his advance beyond his times; the Allies were feeble in the obsoleteness of their tactics. His part had been done in uniform success, to be frustrated by theirs, in uniform failure. A campaign, which dawned fairest for ambition and triumph, had gloomily closed in mortification and defeat; and thus it had resulted, that instead of gathering laurels to his zealous fleet, a humiliating retreat, and with famished crews, had been his only requital.

But the government had admired that, as clouds and prospects had lowered, and as difficulties and discouragements had thickened, his nerve and self-possession had arisen, and his resources and character had developed themselves, as if conscious of the career that awaited him. It had, moreover, been represented by Lord Spencer, that the economy with which this fleet had been conducted, and, above all, the perfection of efficiency and order to which it

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had been disciplined, had never been rivalled in the British Navy.*

Of such services the government considered that not less than a Peerage would be the meet reward; and the Royal approbation being willingly given, on 1st February, 1797, Lord Spencer wrote:

FROM EARL SPENCER.

Admiralty, 1st February, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

The great exertions, ability, and zeal, which you have displayed during your command in the Mediterranean, not only in the active operation of the fleet under your orders, but in the internal arrangements and discipline which you have established and maintained, with such effect to His Majesty's service, have been noticed by His Majesty with so much approbation, that He has been graciously pleased to declare His intentions of honouring you by a distinguished mark of His royal favour; I am accordingly commanded to acquaint you that His Majesty will confer on you the dignity of a Peer of Great Britain, as soon as it shall be known what title you would desire to bear. I shall be obliged, as soon as possible, that I may have it in my power to repeat the same to His Majesty. I hope it will be needless for me to use many words for the purpose of assuring you with how much satisfaction I have obeyed the command laid on me by His Majesty on this occasion,

* "We are preparing to leave the Mediterranean," wrote Captain Nelson, "a measure of which I cannot approve. They at home do not know what this fleet is capable of performing;—anything and everything. . . . Of all the fleets I ever saw, I never saw one in point of Officers and men equal to Sir John Jervis', who is a Commander able to lead them to glory."

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or with what real sincerity I take this opportunity of congratulating you on the very honourable distinction which they so deservedly convey. I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant, SPENCER.

Admiral Sir John Jervis, K.B.

Sir John Jervis had not solicited this distinction, nor had he the remotest idea of it being intended, and, owing to miscarriage of despatches, not even a hint of it reached him till he appeared the claimant for additional honours; but that his rise may be accurately traced, Lord Spencer's letter should be borne in mind.

TO THE EARL SPENCER.

H.M.S. Victory, off Toulon, 3rd September, 1796.

MY LORD,

When Captain Faulknor reported the matchless service to which the enclosed certificate relates, he recommended his first-lieutenant, Fahie, Mr. White, the Master, and two or three petty officers of the inferior class for promotion, and I took the earliest opportunity to make Mr. Fahie a master and commander, and gave the petty officers warrants. Mr. White was ambitious to become a lieutenant; but not having served six years in the navy, and being a master, I could not comply with his wishes. He is now Master of the Defence, and Captain Wells speaks in the highest terms of him; and it is a tribute due to the memory of Captain Faulknor, and to the gallantry of his officers and crew, to state the claims of Mr. White to

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your Lordship, who is the protector of us all. I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,

J. JERVIS.

TO THE EARL SPENCER.

H.M.S. Victory, off Toulon, 15th September, 1796.

MY LORD,

I am honoured with your two letters of 22nd July and 8th August. Hitherto we have had no occasion to resort to the African coast for refreshments; but, from the accounts I receive from Prince Augustus and Sir William Hamilton, it is evident the moment the peace is signed between France and Naples, there is an end of our resources in the dominions of his Sicilian Majesty. In the mean while the Viceroy and I drawing all we can from that quarter. The difficulty with respect to Barbary, is the bad anchorage in the winter months, — the strong escort of frigates which victuallers will require, and I have not to give; for when the season of blockade is over, the enemy will let loose upon me from twenty to thirty frigates and corvettes, and I have very little to oppose to them, as your Lordship well knows. At this critical period, I ought to have a frigate stationed at every projecting point, from Carthagena to the Island of Minorca, and at least four as videttes to the fleet, whereas I have not one for either of those important services. I do not complain, it being my duty to make the most of what my superiors think fit to furnish me with, and I have done so to the best of my judgment. I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

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TO THE EARL SPENCER.

H.M.S. Victory, off Toulon, 18th September, 1796.

MY LORD,

I have given an order to Mr. John Ellis to command, as a lieutenant, he being the son of a very old officer, Lieut. John Ellis, whom I knew very many years; and the young man coming very strongly recommended from the Goliah, Sir Charles Knowles having brought him up, I beg leave to place him under your Lordship's protection as a child of the service. I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Victory, off Toulon, 27th September, 1796.

SIR,

By the Hope, lugger, which joined on the 25th, I received orders from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, dated the 31st of August, for the evacuation of Corsica, &c. &c.; and to desist from sending transports to receive the corps of Hesse Darmstadt, if that measure should be found incompatible with the execution of the orders which relate to the embarking the troops, British subjects, ordnance, naval and military stores, provisions, baggage, &c.; and I acquaint you, for their Lordships' information, that I shall find the utmost difficulty to provide for the embarkation from Corsica with the whole means in the Mediterranean, there being no surplus of transports for the purpose, and a very great deficiency of water-casks, bedding, &c.: I have, therefore, despatched orders to recall the Southampton, should she have left San Fiorenzo, as without them I could do nothing. Besides

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the instructions I received respecting the squadron under the orders of Rear-Admiral Mann, I could not possibly have subsisted them had I not sent them to Gibraltar to victual. I have ordered them to return with all the provisions which can be spared from the stores there, and before they join I hope a considerable progress will be made in embarking the stores at Corsica, having ordered Commodore Nelson to proceed to Bastia, to co-operate with the Viceroy, and to leave the blockade of Leghorn under the direction of Captain Cockburn, of La Minerve, while I continue before Toulon; for, if the enemy is not kept in check, he will pour over emigrant Corsicans in such numbers as may give serious interruption to the operation of retiring the outposts, with the artillery and stores therein.

I have also despatched orders to the Captains Tyler and Miller, to retreat from the Adriatic with their respective squadrons, and directed the former to touch at Naples for the accommodation of Prince Augustus, in case He should choose to come away by sea: they are instructed to bring the trade away with them from Trieste, Venice, and Naples, should there be any, and I have apprized His Royal Highness of this provision for His retreat. I have forwarded Lord Grenville's despatches to Sir William Hamilton, and have communicated to Colonel Graham the necessity I have been under of countermanding the transports which were prepared for the embarkation of the troops of Hesse Darmstadt, and that I am about to withdraw His Majesty's frigates from the Adriatic. And I have lodged with the British consul at Messina instructions for the guidance of Captain Freemantle, hourly expected there with his squadron of frigates, convoying the Turkey trade, his orders directing that he shall touch Messina for intelligence on his passage down. I am, Sir, &c. J. Jervis.

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TO THE EARL SPENCER.

H.M.S. Victory, off Toulon, 27th September, 1796.

MY LORD,

By the Hope, lugger, I shall send the report from Commodore Nelson of the operation in the Island of Capraja, this moment received, in which Lieutenant Berry has again distinguished himself. The enclosed letter does so much credit to him, and honour to the Commodore, I cannot resist sending it. The three senior Lieutenants of the Captain have gone through a great deal of fire and hard service, and, I am sure, will not be forgotten by your Lordship. I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO THE EARL SPENCER.

H.M.S. Victory, off Toulon, 27th September, 1796.

MY LORD,

I have found it expedient to put the people to two-thirds allowance of every species of provisions, except wine, — rather a hard measure after such a cruise, for we complete our six months this day; but the people are healthy and in good-humour.

Your very faithful and obedient servant,

J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M S. Victory, off Toulon, 28th September, 1796.

SIR,

I enclose for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, Commodore Nelson's report of the expedition against, and capture of, the island Capraja; the conduct of which reflects the highest honour on his

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skill, judgment, and enterprise, and of the good training of those under his command; among whom Captain Cockburn of His Majesty's ship La Minerve, stands eminently distinguished; as do Lieutenants Berry, Spencer, and Noble, of the Captain; the latter was desperately wounded in one of the successful enterprizes in the western Riviera of Genoa, and the two first-named have exposed their persons, on all occasions, with that cool, deliberate courage, which forms so prominent a feature in the Commodore's character, and I beg leave to recommend them to their Lordships' favour and protection. I am, Sir, &c., J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Victory, off Toulon, 6th Oct., 1796.

SIR,

I desire you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, as far as I am a judge, every line-of-battle ship in the fleet, except the Victory, will be found sound, and (when a third of them are new coppered) fit for any service. Under the latter head, I class the Britannia, Windsor Castle, St. George, Captain, Egmont, Terrible, Courageux, and Diadem. The St. George will require a spring to secure her upper fastenings, and have an addition of gripe and false keel, which she is greatly in want of; she steers much better for adding to the heel of her rudder, which was done the last time she was at Ajaccio. It is almost needless to submit to their Lordships that the above-mentioned ships, having been three years and half in the Mediterranean, the men will expect and require a few days run on shore, and it would be very advisable not to change any of the Captains, and as few of the Lieutenants as possible, until the ships are fit for sea, and out of the harbour they dock in. Three or four of them are com-

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manded by Officers whose rank upon the list does not entitle them to ships of such a class, but they are able officers, and fully competent to the command in every sense of the word, Captain Peard the youngest, remarkably so, and, as the ships are for the most part well masted, His Majesty's service will be benefited by their being kept in commission, under the same Officers, and much desertion will be thereby prevented. I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS

TO CAPTAIN ——.

Principal Agent for Transports.

H.M.S. Victory, off Toulon, 12th October, 1796.

SIR,

After having informed you that the peculiar situation of Corsica, and the incidental services of the campaign in Italy, required a larger tonnage of troop-transports than I was possessed of, I learn with astonishment, that you have given orders to Lieutenant Day to proceed to England with the transports intended to convey the 100th regiment to Gibraltar. I forbear at present to make the strongest representations against you to the Board of Admiralty, for this departure from my instructions, to give you an opportunity to account for it, which I wish you may be able to do. Having already deprived the fleet of the means of being supplied with live cattle and water, I charge you not to add to this distress upon the public service, by diverting any more transports from the services allotted to them, without my special warrant, and I require you to contradict the orders you have given to Lieutenant Day, as far as relates to his going to England with the transports after landing the 100th regiment at Gibraltar, and direct him to return to San Fiorenzo Bay, as also to countermand your orders to Lieutenant Grey. I am, Sir, &c.

J. JERVIS.

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TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H M.S. Victory, in San Fiorenzo Bay, 23rd Oct., 1796.

SIR,

I have appointed the Pallas and Raven to cruise for Rear-Admiral Mann, from fourteen to twenty leagues west of Cape Ravellotto; the Inconstant and Blanche were ordered off Toulon, to apprize the frigate the Rear-Admiral might send thither, of our position; but they fell in with the Spanish fleet, amounting to thirty-eight sail, at two o'clock in the morning of the 21st, about six leagues to the southward of Cape Ravellotto, and separated; the Inconstant came off this gulf at noon the same day, to give me notice of this event, and I despatched her immediately along the coast, to apprize the different garrisons, and then to join Captain Curzon in quest of the Rear-Admiral. In the afternoon a Danish brig from Zante to Rotterdam, prize to the Peterell, came in; and the gunner who had charge of her reported, that at ten o'clock A.M. of the 20th, in thick weather, Cape Corse, bearing S. by E. eleven or twelve leagues, they descried the Spanish fleet, steering N. E. with a fresh wind at N. W., the brig having the wind at S. W., they were so near that the gunner desired the Danish master to bring-to; and he would go down below with his people; a large Spanish frigate and French brig came close up, and both hailed; the master answered he was a Dane from Zante, bound to Rotterdam; and they did not board him; the wind was variable the whole day, and the fleet seemingly in much confusion. At five o'clock in the evening it changed suddenly to N. and N. by E., and began to blow, when the Spanish hauled their wind on the starboard tack, with their topsails lowered, and continued in great disorder while in sight; this accounts for their being so far to the southward and westward at two

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o'clock the next morning. They were evidently bound to Leghorn, probably with a view to conduct the expedition against Corsica. If they are as short of provisions as my intelligence from Gibraltar and Barcelona says, and the wind continues easterly, they must either go into Toulon or Mahon. I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO THE EARL SPENCER.

H. M. S. Victory, in San Fiorenzo Bay, 23rd Oct., 1796.

MY LORD,

Soon after the Viceroy communicated to the municipality of Bastia that the island was to be evacuated, the reins of government were wrested from him, and a committee of thirty nominated to carry it on; at this moment a gale of wind at west, which rushed in violent gusts from the mountains, drove the Southampton and transports from their anchors. Upon this the committee of thirty insisted that an equal number of Corsicans should mount guard with the British, at the citadel and barriers, and refused to allow the Viceroy to send a messenger with letters to the Corsican Generals in the French service at Leghorn, having determined to send delegates of their own. The instant I was apprized of this, I detached the Captain, with orders to the Egmont (in case Captain Stuart fell in with her) to proceed to Bastia; happily, Commodore Nelson arrived there in the Diadem, at this most interesting period, and by the firm tone he held, soon reduced these gentlemen to order and quiet submission to the embarkation; but he wrote to me that another line-of-battle ship and a transport or two would accelerate the work much; I therefore despatched the Excellent, with two troop transports, and they had an uncommon quick passage. By the unwearied labour of Commodore Nelson and those under his com-

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mand, everything was embarked on the 19th, and he sailed for port Ferrajo at midnight.

On the 20th the Spanish fleet, consisting of thirty-eight sail-of-the-line and ten frigates, was abreast of Cape Corse.

We have every demonstration of perfidy throughout the island; almost the whole of Major Smith's corps have deserted from transports they were embarked on board of, at Bonifacio; and the slaves, that Mr. North redeemed at such an enormous price at Algiers, robbed the person employed by Mr. Heatley (the agent victualler) to draw supplies from Sardinia of near two hundred head of cattle. The Viceroy had many thousand men in pay, as free companies; these, with almost the whole of the members of parliament in the interest of the British government, and other pensioners, were the first to show enmity to us; in short, I do not believe the page of history can produce an instance of such rascally baseness and ingratitude, for the whole island has been enriched by the generosity of our government.

I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO THE EARL SPENCER.

H. M. S. Victory, in Martello Bay, 26th Oct., 1796.

MY LORD,

The citadel of San Fiorenzo was evacuated on the night of the 23rd, without the smallest accident, although the enemy, to the amount of four thousand, had surrounded the work and town; the tower of Fornarelli was blown up, and completely destroyed by Captain Hood, of the Zealous, the instant the boats put off with the garrison of San Fiorenzo, and the following morning I moved the squadron into Martello Bay, and the Viceroy arrived in the Captain, with whom I have arranged our future operations.

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I am impatient for the junction of Rear-Admiral Mann, who, I think, must have been in possession of my original orders, and the duplicate between the 10th and 14th, and, unencumbered with transports or trade, there is no difficulty in his way that may not readily be surmounted.

I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL YOUNG.

H.M.S. Victory, in Martello Bay, 29th Oct. 1796.

DEAR SIR,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that Martello Tower is reduced to a heap of fragments, somewhat resembling the ruins of Palmyra and other monuments of Grecian and Roman architecture in Africa. Besides the advantage His Majesty's ships, which may be forced by stress of weather and other circumstances to take shelter here, will derive from the downfall of this powerful though simple fortification, I feel as if offering a sacrifice to the manes of the gallant fellows who fell in the spirited attack you made upon it in the Fortitude.

Captain Packenham is preparing a model and section of it, to be presented to Marquis Cornwallis; and I hope to see such works erected on all the ports the Duke of Richmond proposed to fortify with citadels requiring two thousand men to defend them, and on every part of the coast likely for the enemy to make a descent on. The materials are, in most part, upon the spot, and these works will require no garrison in time of peace, and very few men, as you have experienced, when besieged and attacked by sea and by land. I am, Dear Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

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TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Victory, at sea, Cape Mola, S. 54; E. 60 leagues,
6th November, 1796.

SIR,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the Diadem joined me in Martello Bay in the evening of the 29th October; and Captain Towry reported, that he arrived at Porto Ferrajo, from Ajaccio, on the 27th, with all the ships of war and transports, (having the garrison, emigrants, provisions, naval stores, and such ammunition and ordnance stores as the Viceroy and Lieutenant-General De Burgh thought fit to remove from hence,) except the Virago, gun-boat, which had been detached to take a party of men belonging to the 50th regiment from the Island of Sangonaire, before Captain Towry received my communication of the change of plan; and he is of opinion Lieutenant Ellis pushed for Gibraltar, and, as the Virago is a wholesome vessel, he entertains no doubt of her safe arrival, the wind having been favourable ever since. Captain Towry saw the Lively, Blanch, Mignonne, Tarleton, and Vernon, gun-boat, with the transports containing the garrisons of Calvi and San Fiorenzo, on the morning of the 29th, off Cape Corse, steering for Porto Ferrajo; which gives me confident hopes that every person and thing, from the Island of Corsica, we were permitted to take away, save some flour in the citadel of Bastia, which, being in very large casks, Commodore Nelson could not venture upon, under the pressing circumstances of the moment: and when I reflect, that in the amnesty published by the Corsican chiefs in the French service the islanders were called upon to join them in attacking the citadels, making prisoners of the garrisons, and taking possession of the magazines, and that we could scarce count a friend in

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the whole island, I consider the evacuation, without the loss of a man killed or wounded, as the most fortunate event of my service, which now approaches fast to forty-eight years complete.

As a proof of the treachery of the Corsicans, I extract the following passage of a letter from Sir Gilbert Elliot to me, written on board the Lively on the 26th October, soon after he got under weigh from Martello Bay: "I am "sorry, at the same time, to say, that Mr. Daniel tells me "that the Maltese Sparonare which Sir William Hamil-"ton despatched on the 5th instant to Bastia, went into "the Mole on the night of the 19th, while we were em-"barking: the despatches fell into the enemy's hands, and "have been read by them." I have to observe that the French Corsicans, under Brigadier-General Caraffa, did not enter Bastia until eight o'clock the next morning; and the Committee of thirty, among whom were some reputed confidential friends of the late Viceroy, might either have sent the Sparonare, with the despatches, on board Commodore Nelson, or have delivered them to General de Burgh, who was ashore. The enemy having gained possession of General —— letter to me, is the thing I apprehend the worst consequences from, the whole turn of his correspondence having been, of late, the most desponding imaginable; and the rapid successes of the Republicans are chiefly owing to the want of vigour and union in the people they make war upon. I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Victory, at sea, 11th November, 1796.

SIR,

The Cygnet, cutter, joined early this morning, and Lieutenant Hamline delivered their Lordships' orders of the 21st October, with a copy of Mr. Secretary Dundas's

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letter, signifying His Majesty's pleasure relative to the keeping possession of the Island of Corsica, should the troops, stores, &c. not have been withdrawn, but, in that event, to occupy Porto Ferrajo, in the Island of Elba, &c. &c. I did not lose a moment in despatching His Majesty's sloop, the Raven, to Porto Ferrajo, with the public letters for their Excellencies Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir William Hamilton, and Lieutenant-General de Burgh.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty will see by my letter of the 6th, that the maintenance of the sovereignty of the Island of Corsica, under the circumstances of the moment, was next to impossible; and I am very happy that the step I hazarded in the removal of the troops, provisions, and stores to Porto Ferrajo, was an anticipation of their orders.

I have greatly to lament the measure Rear-Admiral Mann has taken, in proceeding to cruize off Cape St. Vincent with the squadron under his orders, for a limited time, and then of repairing to Spithead. I enclose a copy of his letter upon this subject, brought by the Cygnet, which will best explain his motives. I am ignorant whether he apprized you, for the information of their Lordships, of his intention, by the Telemachus, cutter. If he did, I shall hope to receive a reinforcement soon after my arrival at Gibraltar, where I am proceeding with the trade from Turkey and Zante, and the transports ordered to England.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO THE EARL SPENCER.

H.M.S. Victory, at sea, 11th November, 1796.

MY LORD,

I consider it as a great blessing that the evacuation of Corsica had taken place before I had received the orders to maintain the Viceroy in the sovereignty of it, which

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could not have been effected for any length of time, as the moment the enemy had landed in force every man in the interior of the island would have taken part with him, and there was not a tenable part in it. I shall have much to say to your Lordship on this subject when we meet.

The conduct of Admiral Mann is incomprehensible: he acknowledges to have received my orders, and the duplicates, and that he opened the despatches which directed my continuance in the Mediterranean. I had taken the liberty of cautioning him against consulting with the Captains under his orders, who all wanted to get to England; and yet, by a passage in his public letter, it appears that he acted with their concurrence. I conclude, a powerful reinforcement will be sent to me immediately, with the means of subsistence; in the interim, I am endeavouring to collect provisions in Porto Ferrajo sufficient to victual 20,000 men for three months at whole allowance, in addition to what we have on board.

I cannot describe to your Lordship the disappointment my ambition and zeal to serve my country has suffered by this diminution of my force; for had Admiral Mann sailed from Gibraltar on the 10th October, the day he received my orders, and fulfilled them, I have every reason to believe the Spanish fleet would have been cut to pieces. The extreme disorder and confusion they were observed to be in by the judicious officers who fell in with them, leaves no doubt on my mind that a fleet so trained, and, generally, well commanded, as this is, would have made its way through them in every direction.

I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

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A GENERAL MEMORANDUM,

To be read to the Officers and Ships' Companies of the Fleet.

H. M. S. Victory, at sea, 30th November, 1796.

THE Commander-in-chief derives great satisfaction from the prospect he has by the late arrival of the victuallers from England, of soon restoring the respective Officers and ships' companies of the fleet to whole allowance of provisions; and he will cause the short allowance money to be paid as soon after the fleet anchors at Gibraltar as the lists can be cast by the Agent-victualler.

He has represented to the Admiralty their general good conduct, and becoming resignation to the necessity of this measure; and as they must all be sensible that there never was a fleet so well and abundantly supplied at sea with everything that could contribute to their health and comfort until the unavoidable diminution of provisions essential to the preservation of the fleet took place, the Admiral claims the confidence of every man in it, that he will lose no opportunity of obtaining refreshments for the whole.

J. JERVIS.

MEMORANDUM.

H. M. S. Victory, Gibraltar, 2nd December, 1796.

EACH line-of-battle-ship is to select a complete, steady, sober shipwright, to be sent on shore to work in the Dock-yard, during the fleet's stay at Gibraltar; they are to go on board the Diadem this afternoon, with their hammocks and tools, where they are to be victualled and sleep at nights, to be sent on shore every morning to work by seven o'clock, and return on board every evening before gun-fire.

A list of their names to be given to the Carpenter of the Victory.

J. JERVIS.

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TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, in Rosier Bay, Gibraltar,
2nd December, 1796.

SIR,

I enclose, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, Captain Bowen's report of the action with, and capture of the Spanish frigate La Mahonesa by His Majesty's ship the Terpsichore, under his command, which reflects the highest honour on Captain Bowen, his Officers, and his ship's company; and I beg leave to add, that I know Lieutenant Devonshire, first of the Terpsichore, to be in all respects a most valuable officer; and that Captain Bowen is also of my school. La Mahonesa is so fine a frigate, I have directed her to be surveyed, valued, and purchased for His Majesty's service; and I shall put her into commission when these forms are complied with. I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, in Rosier Bay, 2nd December, 1796.

SIR,

I desire you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that, after the most tempestuous weather I ever experienced in the Mediterranean, with the wind in our teeth until the three or four last days, and each line-of-battle ship a vessel in tow, I anchored here yesterday with the whole squadron, excepting the Culloden, Zealous, Lively, and La Minerve; the three former I ordered off Cadiz, to endeavour to cut off a Spanish ship-of-the-line, which was seen by Captain Bowen, of the Terpsichore.

I shall not lose a moment in complying with such parts

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of the orders as relate to the defence of the kingdom of Portugal and the trade of His Majesty's subjects and His Allies, and of fulfilling the different important objects which their Lordships have thought fit to commit to my charge.

I therefore shall push through the Gut the first easterly wind, after our wants are supplied, and I will acquaint you with my arrival at Lisbon, by the first packet from thence.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, Rosier Bay, Gibraltar, 2nd Dec. 1796.

SIR,

From the description given of Lieutenant in the Victory and at Leghorn, I believe the history of his carrying large credit from thence to Milan, and the transaction with Mr. Fitzgerald, to be a fiction. Having, however, no other object in the representation I have made, but to obtain justice for the heirs of a poor seaman who died under my command, and whose protector I therefore am, I have only to request that the sum Mr. allows to have had possession of may be stopped out of his half-pay, and paid to Mr. Bedingfeld, as the official trustee to the wills of all seamen and marines who die in His Majesty's service.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

GENERAL ORDER.

H. M. S. Victory, Rosier Bay, Gibraltar, 5th Dec. 1796.

THE Masters and Commanders are to take it in turn, according to seniority, to attend the duty on shore at the ragged-staff from gun-fire in the morning to sunset, to keep

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order and prevent disputes, and to see that the boats take their regular turns.

The Captains are never to be absent from the spot, except at the usual meal times; Captain Sause will begin to-morrow morning, Captain Cumming the next day, and so on to Captain Clarke. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, in Rosier Bay, Gibraltar, 10th December, 1796.

SIR,

I desire you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Commissioner Inglefield, having represented to me the great injury His Majesty's service has suffered for want of a Boatswain of the Yard at Gibraltar, to assist in careening ships, surveying stores, and superintending the labourers, and he having received from Commodore Nelson a very strong recommendation of the boatswain of the Captain, a native of Portugal,* who has served many years with the Commodore; I have, in consideration of the advantage which may accrue from his being conversant in the language spoken by the caulkers and labourers, appointed him Boatswain of the Yard.

I am, Sir, J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H M. S. Victory, in Rosier Bay, Gibraltar, 15th Dec. 1796.

SIR,

From the enclosed report of five men belonging to the Courageux, picked up in her launch by the Niger, and several pieces of wreck, which correspond in form and

* Joaquim, afterwards well known as Joe King.

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painting to parts of the Quarter-deck of the Courageux, seen from the Andromache, there is too much cause to apprehend she is wrecked, and every soul on board at the time perished. Captain Hallowell, than whom a gallanter Officer, or more honourable man, does not exist, is on board the Victory, with two boats' crews, a list of whose names is also enclosed. At any time the loss of such a ship to His Majesty, so manned and so commanded, would have been very great, but in the present circumstances of my force, compared with that of the enemy in these seas, it is beyond all calculation. I shall endeavour by every means in my power to support and encourage Captain Hallowell, who has lost all, except his honour, in this deplorable misfortune; and I beg leave to recommend his situation to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, as peculiarly worthy their Lordships' attention and regard.

The Gibraltar struck twice on Cabrita Point in getting out of the bay, after parting her cables; her fore-topmast was carried away by the shock, but she does not make water. Captain Hood left her in Tangier Bay on the 12th, having, like himself, slipped his cable, and left it for her to take in, which he directed by signal, and I look for her every moment. She was seen by the Andromache yesterday lying there. The Zealous struck twice on the reef off Cape Malabata, and makes a little water. L'Unité, by the activity and manly perseverance of Lieutenants Pigot and Hood, the master and crew, (Captain Stuart having been prevented getting on board by a swelled leg,) ran between the Pearl and the Diamond, not being able to weather the former, and escaped with the loss of her anchors and boats. The Andromache is returned with a sprung bowsprit, and the Niger without any injury except the loss of two anchors. I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

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TO EARL SPENCER.

Victory, off Cape St. Vincent, 15th December, 1796.

MY LORD,

The following is the only account I can collect of the Courageux.

The most intelligent of the five men picked up in the launch says, that when the Culloden drove, after anchoring, he heard a conversation between the First-lieutenant and Master on the quarter-deck, the result of which was a determination to keep in the Gut till the next morning; that the people were hard at work clearing the booms and taking in the topsails, which had split, until eight o'clock in the evening, when orders were given to pipe to dinner, they not having been off the deck from breakfast till that hour.

Lieutenant , who never had charge of a watch before, was left upon the deck to look-out, while the First-lieutenant, Master, and the other Officers took some refreshment. A little before nine the land was seen, when Mr. , instead of putting the helm a-weather, and easing off the main-sheet, sent down to the First-lieutenant and Master to acquaint them of the danger. Mr. , who, though an experienced Officer, was a nervous man, burst into hysterics, while the Master made every effort to wear the ship; but it was too late, the bowsprit striking against the precipice, she went bump ashore, and then swung alongside it: her foremast went overboard, and she divided into two parts. The voices of the First-lieutenant and Master were heard on the stern-ladders; and the last sound was a dismal shriek from the people.

Mr. Morton, the Master, is considered as one of the best we had. Captain Hallowell brought him from his former ship, the Lowestoff, and thinks highly of his know-

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ledge and judgment. My conclusion, therefore, is, that the current, which varies every day, had set the ship much faster to the southward than he was aware of; and the atmosphere was so thick and dark that they did not see the land, though mountainous, till close on board of it.

I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO MR. MASTERS,

Consul at Algiers.

H.M.S. Victory, December 15th, 1796.

SIR,

The conversation I wished to have with you before you entered on the important and ticklish functions of your office, is comprised in three paragraphs; namely, always to be the first, if possible, to communicate frankly any event which happens wherein British concerns of any kind affect the interests of the Dey or his subjects; never to give way to him, or to appear to sink under his passions and menaces; at the same time, to show all the outward respect due to the presence. By these means I am persuaded you will be on better terms with him than any of your predecessors.

Having fully answered all the late complaints of the Dey in a letter which His Highness acknowledges to you he had received from me, of which a copy is enclosed, I do not trouble you with further details on the subject, because the answers are complete, and we have only to maintain the ground on which they rest. African princes always begin with grievances, which must be listened to patiently, but pretended ones never submitted to.

It will be very desirable, on all accounts, that you should endeavour to live on terms of civil intercourse of society

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with Consuls and Merchants of other powers, even of our enemies. The Consuls, being for the most part merchants, are engaged in perpetual intrigues against each other; nevertheless, with your superior manners and knowledge of the world, I trust you will be able to command respect from them by your dignified conduct.

I am, &c. J. JERVIS.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Sir John Jervis ordered to the Tagus. — Loss of two more of his ships. — Sir John cruizes off Portugal. — Is reinforced. — Defeats the Spanish Fleet in a battle off Cape St. Vincent. — Sir John Jervis created Earl of St. Vincent, — Is ordered to blockade the Port of Cadiz.

On his arrival at Gibraltar, Sir John Jervis found his command extended "outside the Mediterranean to Cape Finisterre;" but three days afterwards he received orders to "proceed immediately to the Tagus," which was assigned "as the future principal rendezvous of his fleet."

It seems desirable to account for the further change which the British Cabinet made in the disposition of this naval force, that, in judging of the conduct, and in estimating the services of the Officer who commanded it, the hopes which stimulated, and the anxieties which weighed upon his breast, may be seen, by a faint glimpse at the crisis to which his Country had then arrived.

The violent convulsions with which the French Revolutionary war tore Europe, had by this time entirely changed the frontier of alliance and hostility to England. A corresponding alteration would necessarily ensue in the demonstration of Her national prowess. Within Gibraltar, scarcely more than a

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"barren deep" remained friendly to Her flag; and Her opponents there were far too powerful to be attacked by any force which She then could spare to Her Admiral on that station. But now, secure of assistance from Spain, in order to carry out its revolutionary designs, and the more sorely to straiten England, the Directory threatened to invade Portugal, Great Britain's ancient and then commercial Ally. This alone indicated that the scene of the mighty struggle was about to change, and that the Tagus must be the station of a powerful British squadron: yet was this but a feather's weight of the pressure upon England at the close of the year 1796.

The Allies had been defeated on the Rhine: Holland, with her fleets ready for sea, had become our opponent: France had powerful expeditions fully equipped, waiting only a favourable opportunity for descent upon Ireland. Ireland panted for civil war, and was the more to be dreaded, because Her discontent was so national and so just. In England public spirit desponded, credit was sunk, the Bank had suspended payments in specie, and a dismal alarm was over the land in the terror of invasion; for, should the French expedition to Ireland miscarry, that it would unite itself with the Spanish fleet,* and powerfully outnumber Lord

* In absence of other means of proving by the enemy themselves what their plan of naval warfare against England then was, perhaps the testimony of that daring rebel, Wolfe Tone, then in confidential communication with the Directory, may have some weight; and thus speaks his Diary from France:

"*October*, 1796. Those d—d Spaniards! why are they now not

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Bridport in the Channel, was more than probable. Wherefore, war threatening to rage on Her own coasts, England was compelled, to gird Her armour more closely, to concentrate Her naval stations around Herself; and Lisbon being perhaps that port which best enables Her to defeat an overwhelming combination of French and Spanish squadrons in the Channel, the British Cabinet decided, that to succour our ancient Ally, to intercept the hostile fleets, and to demonstrate within hail of our own shores a force to repel invasion, Sir John Jervis should conduct his fleet to the Tagus. To Lisbon, therefore, in obedience to his orders, Sir John Jervis repaired shortly after his arrival at Gibraltar.

in Brest water? They have mortally offended England by escorting Richery out of Cadiz, and now they are temporising with half-measures, which is always miserable policy; whereas, if they joined us instantly we could strike a blow, and the Navy of England (or I am utterly deceived) would be no longer formidable to France and Spain.

"*November* 20. If they" (the Spaniards) "do not pay for the system they have adopted, there is not a drop of water in Brest Harbour. Oh! if we had their twenty-five sail-of-the-line, now idling at Toulon, (d—n them sempiternally!) with Richery's four or five, which he got safe off from Rochefort, and our own twelve, that would make forty sail-of-the-line, and then, indeed, our business would be a party of pleasure!

"*November* 25. What I would wish would be, to delay the expedition till the arrival of the Spanish fleet, which I would instantly order up from Toulon. That operation might require, at soonest, five or six weeks, but our success would then be certain. But what signifies my tormenting myself?—the Spaniards won't come, and be d—d to them!—and thus we shall be beaten first, and they afterwards."

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Misfortune again awaited his diminished force. As they entered the river, the Portuguese pilot ran the Bombay Castle, 74, on the Catchups, and though her crew was saved, the ship was entirely lost. Immediately on their arrival the squadron betook themselves to refit and repair; and they found that Lord Spencer's statesmanlike forethought had anticipated their need, — a supply of stores and provisions awaited them. The Admiral allowed them but a week to get ready for sea, and then led them out, writing to the Admiralty, "Inactivity in the Tagus will make cowards of us all."

Yet more ill-fortune! As the squadron quitted the Port, the St. George, 90, grounded, and was obliged to be docked; and now disasters had reduced their number to eight sail-of-the-line! But nothing had altered the necessity to England that the enemy should be intercepted. Diminished numbers therefore, did not deter Sir John Jervis from cruizing off Portugal. The day before they sailed information was received that the hostile fleets had left the Mediterranean; that the French, after a short cruize down the coast of Italy, had gone to Brest; that the Spanish went first to Toulon, then to Carthagena, and was proceeding to join its Allies in Brest waters.

On the 6th February Sir John Jervis was reinforced by Rear-Admiral Sir William Parker and six sail-of-the-line. On the following day the Culloden rejoined the flag; and now the British fleet consisted of the following fifteen ships:

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	GUNS.	
Victory	100	Admiral Sir J. Jervis. First Captain, R. Calder. Second Captain, George Grey.
Britannia	100	Vice-Admiral Thompson. Captain T. Foley.
Barfleur	98	Vice-Admiral Hon. W. Waldegrave. Captain J. R. Dacres.
Prince George	98	Rear-Admiral William Parker. Captain John Irvin.
Blenheim	90	Capt. T. L. Frederick.
Namur	90	J. H. Whitshed.
Captain	74	R. W. Miller.
Irresistible	74	George Martin.
Goliath	74	Sir C. H. Knowles.
Excellent	74	Cuthbert Collingwood.
Egmont	74	John Sutton.
Orion	74	Sir James Saumarez.
Colossus	74	George Murray.
Culloden	74	Thomas Troubridge.
Diadem	64	G. H. Towry.

In the mean time further information was received that "the Spanish fleet had passed Cadiz,—that it was in great force,—and that it could not be far distant." That fleet, commanded by Admiral Don Jose Cordova, then consisted of twenty-seven sail-of-the-line, of which thirteen were three-deckers, and of fourteen frigates; and to arrest it from forming with the French force at Brest that fearful combination in the Channel against England, disparity in numbers did not daunt Sir John Jervis from immediately taking off Cape St. Vincent the position in which he must inevitably encounter the enemy in the battle, which would be the retrieving turn, or the most calamitous addition to the crisis to which England was then reduced.

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Ships were stationed to watch and report the enemy's motions. From various quarters information came, that they were quite close; but on the 13th of February Captain Foote, in the Niger, frigate, joined, to announce that he had kept sight of them for three days; and on the same day the Minerva, frigate, Captain Cockburn, bearing Commodore Nelson's broad pendant from the Mediterranean, and the Lively, frigate, Captain Lord Garlies, with Sir Gilbert Elliot and suite, from Corsica, joined; and from those Officers also Sir John Jervis received corresponding information. Commodore Nelson immediately shifted his broad pendant into the Captain, and the signal was made to keep close order and to prepare for battle. Lord Garlies, Sir Gilbert Elliot, and Captain Hallowell, (a passenger in the Victory,) were among Sir John's guests at that day's dinner, which was not a late one; and at breaking-up a toast was drunk, — "Victory over the Dons in the battle from which they cannot escape to-morrow!"

It is believed that Sir John Jervis did not go to bed that night, but sat up writing; it is certain that he executed his will. In the course of the first and middle watch, the enemy's signal guns were distinctly heard; and as he noticed them sounding more and more audibly, Sir John made more earnest and particular inquiries as to the compact order and situation of his own ships, as well as they could be made out in the darkness.

Long before the break of day, he walked the deck in more than even his usual stern silence.

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When the gray of the morning of the 14th enabled him to discern his fleet, his first observations were, high approbation of the Captains for "their admirably close order, and that he wished they were now well up with the enemy, for," added his confidence in his force, and his thoughtfulness for his desponding Country, "a victory is very essential to England at this moment."

The morning was very foggy: as the mist cleared in the distance, the Lively and then the Niger signalled "a strange fleet." The Bonne Citoyenne was ordered to reconnoitre; but very soon afterwards the Culloden's signal guns announced the enemy. At twenty minutes after nine the signal was made to the Culloden, Blenheim, Prince George, and shortly after to the Irresistible, Orion, and Colossus to chase. The Commander-in-chief still walked the Quarter-deck; and as the hostile numbers were counted, they were duly reported to him by the Captain of the fleet.

"There are eight sail-of-the-line, Sir John."—"Very well, Sir."

"There are twenty sail-of-the-line, Sir John."—Very well, Sir."

"There are twenty-five sail-of-the-line, Sir John."—Very well, Sir."

"There are twenty-seven sail, Sir John!" and this was accompanied by some remark on the great disparity of the two forces.—"Enough, Sir, no more of that: the die is cast; and if there are fifty sail, I will go through them," was to this, in sharp tones, the silencing answer, which so delighted Cap-

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tain Hallowell, walking beside the Commander-in-chief, that in the ecstasy of the moment he could not help patting his Admiral's back, exclaiming,— "That's right, Sir John; that's right; by G—d we shall give them a d—d good licking."

At forty minutes after ten Sir John made the signal to form line of battle a-head and astern of the Victory, as most convenient, and to steer S.S.W. The fog was now clearing; when it was gone, the hostile fleets were able to take a distinct view of each other's line; and while the British squadron was admirably forming in closest order, the Spanish fleet stretched in two straggling bodies across the horizon, there being an open space between. But such an opportunity of cutting off a portion of their force was too precious to be lost; and at half-past eleven Sir John Jervis made the signal to pass through the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward. The British ships formed in the following order, Culloden, Blenheim, Prince George, Orion, Colossus, Victory, Irresistible, Barfleur. At twelve o'clock, as the Culloden was reaching close up to the enemy, and their weather division now passed a-head, the British fleet hoisted their colours, and the Culloden opened her fire. But as precisely what the signal directed was the course that gallant ship steered, it led her, not exactly through the gap in the enemy's line, but towards two three-decked ships, the last of the hostile weather division, and so directly on board the last and largest of them, that Captain Troubridge's First-lieutenant, the late gallant Rear-Admiral Griffiths, reported the col-

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lision that seemed inevitable. "Can't help it, Griffiths, let the weakest fend off," was that most gallant hero's only reply. The Lieutenant's duty ended with making the report; and the Culloden standing straight forward, soon let it be seen, that the smallest ship was not the feeblest antagonist. For though she stood-on till through every port on all three decks of the enemy's ship the crew could be perceived at their quarters, pointing their guns, and ready to fire, two of the Culloden's double-shotted broadsides * told with such dreadful effect, and threw the Spaniard so irrecoverably into confusion, that she went about, and the guns of her other side not being even cast loose, she did not fire a single shot, while the Culloden passed straight and triumphantly through. Scarcely had she broken the enemy's line, than the Commander-in-chief signalled the order to tack in succession. But so well was this anticipated by Captain Troubridge, that before the signal flew on board the Victory, the proper flags to repeat it were already hoisted up to the Culloden's top-gallant mast-head, but not yet displayed to view; and at almost the very same moment that the command was given by the Admiral, Captain Troubridge called out "Break the stop—down with the helm;" and instantly the Culloden, repeating the signal, went about.

With such most dashing promptitude as this in

* The last information about this battle which the author had the honour of receiving from this gallant Admiral was, that those "double-shotted broadsides were fired as if by a seconds watch, and in the silence of a Port-Admiral's inspection."

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executing the manœuvre he intended, Sir John Jervis was indeed and above measure delighted. "Look, Jackson!" he rapturously exclaimed, "look at Troubridge there! he tacks his ship to battle as if the eyes of all England were upon him; *and would to God they were!* for then they would see him to be, what I know him, and, by heavens, Sir! as the Dons will soon feel him." The Blenheim, Prince George, and Orion, tacked in admirably close order, but the Colossus was obliged to wear, for as she ranged up in her turn, her fore-yard was shot through in the slings.

The leeward division of the enemy perceiving the fatal consequences of their disunited order of sailing, now endeavoured to retrieve the day, and to break through the British line. A Vice-Admiral in a three-decker, the Principe d'Asturias, led them, and was reaching up to the Victory just as she had come up to tack in her station. The Vice-Admiral stood on with great apparent determination till within pistol-shot, but there he stopped; for the Victory, sternly backing her main topsail, to look her antagonist in the face, and give her the proper deception, so panic-struck the Spaniard, that he put his helm down, and allowed his ship to go round without touching brace or bowline; at the same time he discharged his star-board guns. They were so elevated, that they did but little execution; and when the Victory could bring her guns to bear on the Principe d'Asturia's quarter, she thundered in two of her broadsides, sweeping the Spaniard's decks, and so terrified him that when his sails filled, he squared his

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yards, ran clear out of the battle altogether, and did not return. The Victory then tacked into her station, followed by the Irresistible, Barfleur, Egmont, and Goliath; and the conflict now raged with desperate fury, for the enemy fought obstinately; and those of our ships that had the good fortune to get into close action, behaved nobly.

About this time, and while the Victory was in the thickest of the fight, the smoke not permitting the Commander-in-chief to see all the ships of his squadron as distinctly as he wished, he went to the poop to obtain a clearer sight of the battle. While he was there, coolly surveying them, a Marine close by him was struck by a cannon-shot, which smashed his head, and Sir John was literally covered from hat to knees by the man's brains and blood. Seeing him in that state, and fearing he was wounded, Captain Grey ran up, making the most earnest inquiries: "I am not at all hurt," replied the Admiral calmly; and at the same time wiping his mouth, into which a quantity of blood had flown; "but do, George, try if you can get me an orange." A youthful aide-de-camp soon brought one from the cockpit, and Sir John rinsed his mouth with the utmost composure.

On his return to the quarter-deck, he gave the command for signal, 41; viz. to take suitable positions for mutual support, and to engage the enemy closer.

At this period of the battle the Spanish Commander-in-chief bore up, with nine sail-of-the-line, to run round the British line, and rejoin his leeward

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division. This was a gallant and formidable manœuvre; but no sooner was it commenced than his eye caught it, whose greatest wish it ever was, to be the first to find, and foremost to fight his enemy, and Commodore Nelson, instead of waiting till his turn to tack in succession would bring him into action, hesitated not to depart from the prescribed mode of attack, and ordered his ship to be immediately wore, to meet the enemy's design. Instantly the Excellent was signalled to support the Commodore in this his own most masterly manœuvre, which was completely successful, at once arresting the Spanish Commander-in-chief, and carrying Nelson and Collingwood together into the van and brunt of the battle. On entering the fight, the Commodore found the now already crippled enemy endeavouring to make their escape, and the British van ships maintaining a very unequal contest. Commodore Nelson at once proceeded to support the hardest pressed and most disabled of them, and immediately attacked the four-decker, the Santissima Trinidada, then engaged by the Culloden; and for nearly an hour the contest here was furious; for the other Spanish ships there brought their guns to bear upon the Captain; but then the Blenheim coming up to his support, and the Captain's foretopmast being shot away, Commodore Nelson put his helm down, and let her come to the wind, that he might board the San Nicolas.

Captain, afterwards Sir Edward Berry (a passenger with Commodore Nelson) jumping into her mizen chains, was the first in the enemy's ship, the

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Commodore leading his boarders and a party of the 69th regiment, doing duty as Marines, immediately followed, and soon compelled surrender. While he was on the San Nicolas' deck, the San Josef, disabled, falling on board, offered an opportunity to the Commodore of boarding her from his prize. Accompanied therefore by Captain Berry and Lieutenant Pierson, of the 69th, and a small party of boarders, he jumped into the San Josef's main chains. He was then informed that the ship had already surrendered; and thus he had the singular satisfaction of receiving, on the Quarter-deck of two line-of-battle ships, their Officers' swords from their own hands. The Salvador del Mundo having been engaged by the Orion, and afterwards by the Victory, struck to the Victory, but was taken possession of by Sir James Saumarez. The San Ysidro surrendered to the Excellent. The Santissima Trinidada ceased to resist; the general, and, as it will hereafter be seen, the correct opinion being that she had struck her colours; indeed, Sir James Saumarez asserted that while he engaged her she made the signal of submission; but she escaped capture; for now the Spanish leeward division, in number fourteen sail, having re-formed their line, bore down to support their Commander-in-chief. To receive them, to protect his own disabled ships, and to cover the prizes, Sir John Jervis was obliged to form a line-of-battle on the starboard tack. The enemy immediately retired; and thus, at five P.M., it being now very nearly dark, terminated this great battle, in which the admirable conduct of the victors will never

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be overrated by comparison with the value of the victory to their Country, nor the skill and courage of their Admiral, with the numerical superiority of the enemy he attacked. That Sir John Jervis, confident in the excellence of his force, reckoned on a victory as certain, may already have been inferred; but in the narrative of his proceedings further testimony will confirm it.

The British fleet lay-to for the night;* by daybreak of the 15th they had drifted to about four leagues off Cape St. Vincent; in the morning Sir John Jervis issued his general orders of thanks and approbation to his squadron, and sent Captain Calder to the Admiralty with despatches of the battle.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Victory, Lagos Bay, February 16, 1797.

SIR,

The hopes of falling in with the Spanish fleet, expressed in my letter to you of the 13th instant, were confirmed last night, by our distinctly hearing the report of their signal guns, and by intelligence received from Captain Foote, of his Majesty's ship the Niger, who had, with

* In the evening, while talking over the events of the day, Captain Calder hinted that the spontaneous manœuvre which carried those *duo fulmina belli*, Nelson and Collingwood, into the brunt of battle, was an unauthorized departure by the Commodore from the prescribed mode of attack! "It certainly was so," replied Sir John Jervis; "and if ever you commit such a breach of your orders, I will forgive you also." The flattering reception which immediately after the action Sir John Jervis had given to the Commodore is well known.

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equal judgment and perseverance, kept company with them for several days, on my prescribed rendezvous, (which, from the strong south-east winds, I had never been able to reach,) and that they were not more than the distance of three or four leagues from us. I anxiously awaited the dawn of day, when, being on the starboard tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing east by north eight leagues, I had the satisfaction of seeing a number of ships extending from south-west to south, the wind then at west by south. At forty-nine minutes past ten, the weather being extremely hazy, La Bonne Citoyenne made the signal that the ships seen were of the line, twenty-seven in number. His Majesty's squadron under my command, consisting of fifteen-ships-of-the-line, named in the margin,* happily formed in the most compact order of sailing, in two lines. By carrying a press of sail, I was fortunate in getting in with the enemy's fleet at half-past eleven o'clock, before it had time to connect and form a regular order of battle. Such a moment was not to be lost; and, confident in the skill, valour, and discipline of the officers and men I had the happiness to command, and judging that the honour of His Majesty's arms, and the circumstances of the war in these seas, required a considerable degree of enterprize, I felt myself justified in departing from the regular system; and, passing through their fleet, in a line formed with the utmost celerity, tacked, and thereby separated one-third from the main body; after a partial cannonade, which prevented their rejunction till the evening, and, by the very great exertions of the ships which had the good fortune to arrive up with the enemy on the larboard tack, the ships named

* Victory	100	Namur	90	Colossus	74
Britannia	100	Captain	74	Egmont	74
Barfleur	98	Goliath	74	Culloden	74
Prince George	98	Excellent	74	Irresistible	74
Blenheim	90	Orion	74	Diadem	64

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	GUNS.	KILLED.	WOUNDED.
San Josef	112 (taken)	46	96
San Nicolas	84 (taken)	144	59
Oriente	74	0	0
Glorioso	74	0	0
Atalante	74	0	0
Conquestador	74	0	0
Soberano	74	0	0
Firme	74	0	0
Pelayo	74	0	0
San Genaro	74	0	0
San Juan Nepomuceno	74	0	0
San Francisco de Paula	74	0	0
San Ysidro	74 (taken)	29	63
San Antonio	74	0	0
San Pablo	74	0	0
San Firmin	74	0	0
Neptuno	74	0	0
Bahama	74	0	0
San Domingo	74	0	0
Terrible	74	0	0
Il Defenso	74	0	0

N.B. Among the killed is General Don Francisco Xavier Winthuysen, Chef d'escadre.

List of the British Fleet opposed to the Spanish, the 14th February, 1797.

	GUNS		Killed.	Wounded.
Victory	100	Admiral Sir John Jervis, K.B. 1st Capt. Robert Calder 2nd Capt. George Grey	1	5
Britannia	100	Vice-Admiral Thompson Capt. T. Foley	0	1
Barfleur	98	Vice-Adm. Hon. W. Waldegrave Capt. James Richard Dacres	0	7

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	GUNS		Killed.	Wounded.
Prince George	98	Rear-Adm. William Parker Captain John Irvin	8	7
Blenheim	90	Capt. Thos. Lennox Frederick	12	49
Namur	90	Capt. J. H. Whitshed	2	5
Captain	74	Commodore Nelson Capt. R. W. Miller	24	56
Goliath	74	Sir C. H. Knowles	0	8
Excellent	74	C. Collingwood	11	12
Orion	74	Sir James Saumarez	0	9
Colossus	74	George Murray	0	5
Egmont	74	George Sutton	0	0
Culloden	74	Thomas Troubridge	10	47
Irresistible	74	George Martin	5	14
Diadem	64	G. H. Towry	0	2
			73	227

On the 16th the squadron anchored with their prizes in Lagos Bay, when all hands were employed in landing the wounded prisoners, and in knotting and splicing, and in repairing damages for another fight, the enemy, with still twenty-three sail-of-the-line, being off the bay, and demonstrating aggressive appearances. On the 23rd the weather threatening to blow hard, Lagos ceased to be a safe anchorage; and so rapidly did a strong on-shore wind freshen-up, that most of the ships, in getting under weigh, were obliged to leave an anchor and a cable behind them. On the 24th they all entered the Tagus with their trophies. No sooner was the Victory within the bar than the Commander-in-chief was surrounded by personages, authorities, and officers congratulating and complimenting him on the splendour of his achievement;—the honest applause, on which the bravest and greatest men may

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justly pride themselves, but of which the recapitulation, in deference to his well-known detestation of such parade, will be omitted, that his interview with Captain, now Admiral Lord Mark Kerr, may occupy the space, and, with his Lordship's permission, his own letter to the present Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker, shall relate it.

TO SIR WILLIAM PARKER.

Henrietta Street, Friday.

MY DEAR PARKER,

Sir John Jervis was off Cape St. Vincent, leaving some frigates, and the Fortune, brig, which I commanded, to watch Cadiz and the Gut. I brought-to a vessel, from whom I obtained an accurate account of the enemy, &c. &c., with which I proceeded forthwith to the Admiral, who ordered me immediately to proceed to Lisbon, and desire our Commissioner there to use every exertion in preparing all things that might be required for refitting any of our crippled ships, which he expected would be the case if what he hoped should come to pass.

On my being about to quit him, he led me into the stern-gallery, and pointing thence to the fleet, he said: "Not-"withstanding the disparity of force, my dear Lord Mark, "with such stuff as I have about me, I shall attack them, "and England shall hear of them; and should it be at day-"light, or during a fog, I will bring you a seventy-four-"gun ship into Lisbon."

When he arrived off the bar, after his glorious victory, he made my signal for a Captain, and I immediately got under weigh, and joined him. He again led me into the stern-gallery, and said: "Mark, I promised you a post "commission if I fell in with the enemy at daylight, or in a "fog; I did both:" and pointing to the San Ysidro with

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one hand, he gave my commission with the other, saying, "There it is, and that's the ship. You are to go on "board directly, and bring her to a safe anchorage well up "the Tagus." An appointment was at the same time given to an officer to take command of the brig, and we all proceeded up the river, and anchored together.

Now you may either burn this, or make use of it as you please, my dear Parker: when overhauled, and put in *better* trim, it may probably appear *better*. I hope the feeling of gratification which I have at the recollection of this flattering kindness and attention from so great a naval Officer does not make me cherish it too highly; for though so satisfactory to myself, the public may care little about it, in spite of what may be thought by

Your very much obliged and very truly,

M. R. KERR.

But it is time to turn to England. Captain Calder arrived in London with his despatches on the afternoon of Saturday, 3rd March. Joy, succeeding to gloominess, circulated the news so rapidly— the value of the victory was so perceptible in the despondency from which it raised the country— national security, in naval supremacy, was so confirmed by the numerical superiority of the vanquished— it was so gratifying to the popular pride, that at sea it was, that such a victory had been obtained — and astonishment at what he had achieved so exalted the public estimation of the Admiral, that what abounded everywhere without the walls of the House of Commons, could not be repressed within them ; and when the Minister, on that evening, only proposed that the vote of thanks should be taken on the following Monday, the

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House rejected restraint from immediately testifying its gratitude. The House of Peers gave its similar vote on the 8th; and to a message from the Crown the House of Commons cordially responded, by settling a pension of £3000 a-year.

But of these discussions that in the House of Commons in England claims a particular notice, as well that justice be done to Lord Spencer's administration of the Navy, as that the rise of its Officer may be accurately followed.

Mr. Keane moved for an address to the Crown to confer some signal mark of royal favour on the gallant Admiral. But, in answer, the Minister said: "Can it be supposed that the Crown can require to be prompted to pay the just tribute of approbation and honour on those who have eminently signalised themselves by public services? On the part of His Majesty's Ministers I can safely affirm, that before the last splendid instance of the good conduct of the gallant Admiral, we have not been remiss in watching the uniform tenor of his professional career. We have witnessed the whole of his proceedings — such instances of perseverance, of diligence, and of exertion in the public service, as, though less brilliant and dazzling than the last exploit, are only less meritorious as they are put in competition with a single day, which has produced such incalculable benefit to the British Empire." It now will be understood that the being fortified by the tender of advice to the Crown to testify its approbation of Sir John Jervis' admirable conduct in the Mediterranean by the offer of a

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Peerage, was, of course, that alone which could have authorised the Minister to thus express himself.

We have already seen that Lord Spencer's letter was not duly received. To the victory now to be rewarded, nobler honours were due; and considering that before-intended as actually conferred; now that Sir John Jervis, elevated on such cumulated services to his Country, was at once to take the corresponding rank, — the step was but level to an Earldom. What caused his Lordship to take the title of St. Vincent his own letter to his brother will hereafter state.

The City of London voted its freedom to his Lordship in a gold box, and swords to the Admirals of the fleet and Commodore Nelson; Vice-Admirals Thompson and Parker were created baronets; Commodore Nelson received the red riband; Dublin, Bristol, Bath, Liverpool, and other cities, with the chief Companies in London, manifested their gratitude to the Commander-in-chief and the Officers by their votes and presents; and to all the Admirals and Captains of the fleet The King testified his approbation of their conduct by presenting a medal commemorative of their victory.

The fleet under the now Earl St. Vincent remained in the Tagus till the end of the month, when, having refitted, and being reinforced to twenty-one sail-of-the-line, they went again to sea.

In April they received orders to blockade the port of Cadiz, within which lay the Spanish fleet, now augmented to thirty-six sail-of-the-line, and to

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prevent their junction with the French or Dutch fleets, continued to be the main object of the British Admiral's service.

At first his Lordship cruised off the mouth of the harbour, but he soon afterwards anchored, dividing his force into two squadrons; the in-shore ten sail-of-the-line, the *élite* of his fleet, were stationed just outside the entrance of the port; the main body lay before Rota; the frigates and small craft cruised in the Bay of Biscay, or were detached on particular service to the Mediterranean or Adriatic, as his Lordship's extended vigilance over the general circumstances of the war, still raging in Italy, suggested.

On the approach of winter the Spaniards retreated to the upper part of the harbour, and dismantled their ships; Lord St. Vincent therefore conducted the main body of his fleet to the shelter of the Tagus; Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker being left, with eight sail-of-the-line, to watch the port.

Shortly after the fleet arrived in the river, a trifling circumstance, and about a *bagatelle*, occurred, which, at first, wore rather a serious aspect, though it terminated satisfactorily. Captain Troubridge had taken a large and valuable Spanish prize, which he conducted to Lisbon. By the then existing treaties no such ship was allowed to go above Belem Castle; but as the merchantman was very badly off for anchors and cables, Lord St. Vincent asked permission of the Lisbon authorities to have her alongside the Ville de Paris, his Lordship's flag-ship, and then lying above the fort. The request was refused,

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and in a manner by no means the most courteous. But such opposition to his will being absolutely insupportable by "the Chief," (as his Lordship was usually styled by the Officers of his fleet,) he made the signal for all the boats of the squadron to tow-in the prize. As they passed Belem the Officer of the fort fired some shot at them, which serving only to irritate his Lordship the more, he addressed a note to the British naval Commissioner, Sir Isaac Coffin, directing him to call upon the Minister of Marine, Don Rodrigo de Souza de Coutinho, and acquaint him that "if a second outrage happened, he would blow the whole city about their ears: that they were a set of Ladrones, and Don John at their head." Sir Isaac obeyed. The Minister, greatly agitated, asked "What would appease the great man?" Sir Isaac's advice was, that Don Rodrigo should immediately repair on board the flag-ship, and make the best explanation he could of the Officer's conduct. The Minister replying that the Officer was "already cashiered," accompanied the Commissioner to the Ville de Paris.

Lord St. Vincent received Don Rodrigo very graciously. What passed at this interview is not precisely known; but the Minister retired, loudly extolling his Lordship's magnanimity, which had made it a point in the conference, that the Officer who, for firing in obedience to his orders had been cashiered, should be not only restored, but promoted.

It was not very long after this that the Flora, Captain Middleton, appeared off the bar, and signalled, "The enemy is at sea;" and his First-lieutenant

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landing at Cascaes in the evening, delivered his despatches from Sir William Parker, of his being compelled to retire before twenty sail-of-the-line of the Spanish fleet.

It is believed that the records of the British Navy do not present an instance of greater promptitude and exertion than was exhibited by the fleet then in the Tagus. Lord St. Vincent received his intelligence at twenty-five minutes past seven; at half-past, the signal flew to prepare for sailing! At the moment of that unexpected order most of the ships were refitting, — some dismantled; two, the Theseus and Swiftsure, had clear holds, and transports alongside; and four were completely unrigged. By the next morning's day-break some of the ships reported themselves ready for sea; and at the close of the day the whole squadron, thirteen of-the-line, sailed in pursuit of the enemy.

But their exertions were not recompensed by a meeting: their utmost efforts did not enable them to accomplish more than to arrive just in time for the mortification of seeing the enemy regain his former security in the port of Cadiz. The Spaniards again dismantled. Lord St. Vincent replaced Sir William Parker in command of the squadron before the port, and then returned to the Tagus.

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TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR GILBERT ELLIOT.

Victory, in Rosier Bay, 13th Dec. 1796.

DEAR SIR,

It appears by my instructions, and other communications lately received from England, that the defence of Portugal, and the prevention of the fleets of France and Spain combining in an attack on Lisbon, or an invasion of England or Ireland, with the protection of Gibraltar, are expected from me. Of course all operations that depend on my support in Italy must be suspended until I am reinforced, and see my way more clearly than I do at present.

The Commodore will relate to you the dreadful weather we have experienced, and the casualties produced by it. I am thankful we have not suffered more.

I rejoice we have obtained so much from Naples before the arrival of the ratification. I have given my friend Paddy Whack a dressing for his temerity at St. Stephen's, and have enclosed the orders I have issued on the occasion to Sir William Hamilton.

Yours, my dear Sir, most truly, J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Victory, off Lisbon, 22nd Dec. 1796.

SIR,

At daylight yestermorning I got the length of Cape Roxent, with all the line-of-battle ships (and Camel storeship), except the Bombay Castle, she having separated on the 19th, in endeavouring to speak a suspicious ship seen in the quarter she was looking out; and, although Vice-Admiral Vandeput, on the arrival of the Diadem and Raven on the 19th, had applied, through Mr. Walpole, His

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Majesty's Minister at the Court of Portugal, for proper pilots to be sent to look out for us, none appeared but the fishermen, of whom we were obliged to avail ourselves, the wind blowing at right angles with the bar; owing to this, the ebb tide, and rapidity of the freshes down the river, the rear of the squadron was prevented from getting within the bar until late in the evening, at which time a ship of war, supposed to be a frigate, was observed steering after them, which by the unskilfulness of the pilot was compelled to anchor near the wooden fort of Cascayes, and soon after made the signal for immediate assistance, which was repeated by the forts, and no time was lost in getting anchors and hawsers into the launches of the British and Portuguese squadrons, their Admiral having been very obliging on the occasion; but the flood-tide prevented their getting down till midnight, about which time I first learnt that it was the Bombay Castle, and that she had beat part of her rudder off, without making water: guns of distress have been fired at intervals ever since. I have sent Capt. Grey to the Portuguese Admiral to request he will order a large frigate to lay out anchors and cables for her. The weather having been very moderate, and she rather within the fort, I am in hopes she will be got off without material injury.

The moment I anchored here I communicated to Mr. Walpole, in the strictest confidence, the object of my mission, but as yet I have not received information of any kind from him. I learn from Vice-Admiral Vandeput, that he expressed much surprise to hear of my probable approach by the arrival of the Diadem and Raven.

The rigging and blocks of every ship in the squadron require a thorough overhauling, which will be set about immediately, and every exertion made in fitting for sea, which I hope will be accomplished by the latter end of this month, when I shall anxiously look for the reinforcement from England. I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

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TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.—STANDING ORDER.

H.M.S. Victory, off Lisbon, 21st Dec. 1796.

To avoid dissentions and quarrels with the Portuguese, which always terminate in assassination, but most of all, to prevent straggling and consequent desertions:

It is required, while the fleet continues in the Tagus, that no boat be sent on shore unnecessarily; and that a responsible Officer is sent in each, who is neither to quit her himself for a moment, nor suffer one of the crew to do so, upon any pretence whatever, with strict orders to return on board as soon as the service he is employed upon is performed, and in all cases to put off from the shore before sunset, even though the persons on whom the boat waits (be their rank what it may) do not come down to the beach in time to avail themselves of the opportunity to get on board, in which case their sleeping ashore will be a lesser inconvenience to them than the public must suffer by boats' crews being exposed to a variety of evils, incident to their being detained on shore after dusk; and from the experience the Commander-in-chief has had of the cheerful compliance with his orders upon similar occasions, he is confident the Officers in general will enter into the utility and spirit of this regulation, so essential to the preservation of the people, and the harmony between them and the Portuguese, than which nothing can be more important at the present moment. J. JERVIS.

GENERAL ORDER.

H.M.S. Victory, in the Tagus, 22nd Dec. 1796.

THE ships are to overhaul all their masts, rigging, sails, &c. &c. and refit completely for sea, without loss of time, and report when ready.

The Admiral will expect every ship to be quite ready for sea in a week from the date hereof. J. JERVIS.

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GENERAL ORDER.

25th Dec. 1796.

THE Commander-in-chief being convinced that a number of mainmasts have been crippled through want of judgment in staying, and the topmasts, directs, that in future whenever a lower mast or topmast is to be stayed, the after rigging be first set up sufficiently taut to prevent the head of the topmast or lower mast being hauled too far forward; and the strictest attention is required to this order, as the Masters and Boatswains, whose peculiar duty it is to stay the masts, will be made accountable for any failure therein. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Victory, in the Tagus, 28th Dec. 1796.

SIR,

I desire you will represent to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that in a conversation I have had with Don Rodrigo de Souza, Minister of Marine, I learn it is the intention of this government to send all the naval force of Portugal to protect the next convoy to the Brazils, and to continue there for the protection of those valuable colonies. There are, I understand, seven sail-of-the-line equipped, but not manned, and another in dock repairing. The arsenal is unprovided, owing to the neglect of the late Minister of Marine, the bad state of the finances of the country, and the supineness of the Government, which appears to me at a lower ebb than I ever remember it. Don Rodrigo de Souza is certainly a well-informed, vigorous character, but how he is to find resources, or infuse spirit into a department which has long languished under every disadvantage of partial unmerited

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rewards, and a total dereliction of discipline and punishment for offences, I am at a loss to guess; it is certainly not the work of a day; at the same time I must do him the justice to say, he spares no labour nor pains to assist us, and to encourage the Portuguese to emulate our example. Their Lordships by this representation will perceive, that the statement of the Chevalier d'Almeida, touching the co-operation of the Portuguese Marine with His Majesty's ships under my command was ill-founded, or that a change has taken place in the councils of Portugal since he made it. I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EARL SPENCER.

Victory, in the Tagus, 29th Dec. 1796.

MY LORD,

The Government of Portugal exhibits the most melancholy picture I ever heard or read of; and it becomes me to apprize you that no reliance whatever can be placed on the Portuguese Marine for the defence of the country.

I have been at some pains to inquire into the state of the army; and though they have thirty-thousand troops upon paper, I doubt whether they could bring more than twelve thousand into the field—I mean native troops—and these would be without any one necessary provision, in opening a campaign; neither hospitals, nor hospital staff, camp equipage, nor clothing, except what they have on their backs, or magazines of any kind. The Commander-in-chief is an imbecile, incapable of anything but hatred to the Prince of Brazil, who has not force of character enough to remove him. An empty treasury—the Minister of Finance a miserable bigot, who has suffered every thing to run into confusion, and has not capacity enough to correct the abuses which obstruct the collection of the revenue. Orders and regulations published continually, but no atten-

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tion paid to them in any one department. Crimes go unpunished; honours and rewards bestowed profusely, and without distinction; the Court filled with Monks and Friars; and the capital become so offensive, by the dereliction of police, that it cannot be long without pestilence.

This is really and truly the view I see Portugal in; and I never was more disposed to take the favourable profile; having no tincture of prejudice arising from ill humour, want of health, or spirits, and having certainly received every mark of distinction which the Prince or his Minister can show.

After this description of the Court and Government, your Lordship will not be surprised that they are without intelligence. All they possess even from Spain is obtained from merchants; their Ambassador at Madrid dealing in nothing but idle tales which he gets from the Prince of Peace. I have omitted to mention, that the naval arsenal is without stores, or victuals, and I have cause to believe the ships afloat are ill provided with both; no salt provisions are to be purchased. I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Victory, in the Tagus, 29th Dec., 1796.

MY DEAR NEPEAN,

The loss of two line-of-battle ships, in a manner that discredits British seamanship and judgment, is a severe trial in an hour like the present. The conduct of , and Rear-Admiral , the first in pursuit of a command-in-chief; the last, with a view to get out of what he, poor man, thought a scrape, and in hopes of picking up some good prizes in his passage to ease and tranquillity, was sufficient to perplex an ordinary mind. But whether you send me a reinforcement or not, I shall sleep perfectly sound; not in the Tagus, but at sea; for as soon as the St. George has shifted her topmast, the Captain her bow-

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sprit, and the Blenheim brought on additional fishes to her mainmast, I will go out; unless I receive advices of the approach of the ships said to be in preparation to join me here.

I am pledged to Lady Louisa Lennox and to Lord Hugh Seymour to give the first vacancy to Lord Mark Kerr, who has won the heart of every Officer in the squadron, by his extraordinary good conduct and gallantry during the short time he has been among us.

Having given Lord Spencer a faithful portrait of the Court and Government of Portugal, which you will probably see, I do not report it to you. The palace of Queluz is filled with Priests, Monks, and Friars, vermin that must ruin any Country on earth, in which they have such unbounded influence as they exercise here. The common people, under a good government, are capable of *any* thing. Yours, J. JERVIS.

MEMORANDUM.

Victory, 30th Dec., 1796.

A Post Captain is to visit the Hospital every morning, taking it by seniority. Captain Frederick to begin to-morrow. They are to cause strict regularity to be observed in the Hospital, and if they find the patients not to conduct themselves properly and orderly, they are to punish them agreeably to the rules of the Navy, taking a Boatswain's mate with them for the purpose, if they should find it necessary. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Victory, in the Tagus, 31st Dec. 1796.

SIR,

I desire you will represent to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that having received the enclosed letter

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and statement from Vice-Admiral Waldegrave, I feel it a duty incumbent on me to lay them before their Lordships, and to observe that the claims therein set forth appear to me the more just, because of the little provision made for Sea-officers (who have filled high and important stations) compared with what is usually done for those in other departments, both military and civil, whose appointments are also much more considerable than the pay of Sea-officers, many of whom, after having passed a long life in a most arduous and fatiguing profession, sink into penury, bordering on indigence. I therefore beg leave to recommend the case of the Vice-Admiral to the consideration of their Lordships, hoping they will think him entitled to remuneration for his services at Tunis.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

STANDING ORDER.—TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

H.M.S. Victory, in the Tagus, 2d Jan., 1797.

IT is required by the Commander-in-chief, that the strictest attention be paid by the Surgeons of the squadron to the sick on board their respective ships, and when they are sent to the Hospital (which is not to be done without their being certified to the First Captain that they are fit objects, by Mr. Weir, Surgeon of the Victory), they are to be visited by the Surgeons as often as possible, every other day at least; consequently the Surgeons must for the present forego the recreations of Lisbon.

A commissioned Officer to be sent every day, from the ship that has the guard, in a proper boat, to Mr. Francis Arbouin, His Majesty's Vice-consul, resident in Lisbon, to demand of him all British seamen who may happen to be confined by the Police in any of the prisons of the city.

J. JERVIS.

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TO COMMODORE NELSON.

H.M.S. Victory, in the Tagus, 13th Jan. 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

Our entrance into the Tagus was clouded by the loss of the Bombay Castle on the south Catchups, ascribed to the ignorance of the pilot, and other unfortunate circumstances. The Zealous so much injured by the stroke she got on the reef off Cape Malabata, and the Gibraltar by her shock on the Pearl, that the former was ordered to prepare for careening, and the latter, having destroyed two cables by the jagged parts of her keel and gripe, it is no longer safe for her to continue in the Tagus, and she is under orders for England; add to this, that the St. George was obliged to shift her mainmast, and you will readily believe that I was not a little animated on receiving letters from Admiral Colpoys, by Captain Cole of La Revolutionaire, on the 8th instant, that Richery sailed from Brest on the 16th December, with eighteen ships of the line, and twenty-four frigates and flutes, crammed with troops, and was, to all appearance, destined for Portugal, Sir Edward Pellew having parted with him to the westward of the Saintes, steering south-west. I immediately proposed, through Mr. Walpole, that the Portuguese squadron ready to sail for the Brazils (with a valuable convoy), should be added to my force, and that I would put to sea and face Richery; and I have the pleasure to inform you that, by the vigour of the Minister of Marine, Don Rodrigo de Souza de Coutinho, this measure was adopted the day following, and three other line-of-battle ships ordered to be got ready, making in all eight of the line, four frigates, and two brigs, with which I should have sailed this day, had not the enclosed intelligence from the Admiralty arrived in the intermediate time. I am impatient for the arrival of Rear-Admiral Sir William Parker with the reinforce-

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ment, for the moment they are put to rights, I will proceed to the Straits' mouth in order to cover you, and in case of the Spanish fleet taking a position to the eastward of Gibraltar, it is my intention to enter the Mediterranean.

I cannot express to you, and Captain Cockburn, the feelings I underwent on the receipt of the enclosed bulletin, the truth of which I cannot doubt, as far as relates to your glorious achievement in the capture of the Sabina, and dignified retreat from the line-of-battle ship, which deprived you of your well-earned trophy; your laurels were not then within their grasp, and can never fade. The result appears to me the more unfortunate, because Bowen, after the dismasting and capturing the French frigate La Vestale, was prevented putting a sufficient number of men on board her (by a sudden gale of wind) to awe the prisoners, who rose upon his Lieutenant and boat's crew in the night, and carried the ship into Cadiz; the second Captain and a few men only having been removed to the Terpsichore. The First Captain and an incredible number of men were killed and wounded in the action, with little loss on the part of the Terpsichore, as related by the Lieutenant, who is a prisoner at Cadiz, for I have yet had no account from Bowen.

Lord Malmsbury is driven from Lille, and out of the Kingdom, with his whole suite, and the Directory are so insolent and intolerant in their demands, peace seems further off than ever. Yours affectionately, J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, off Cape St. Vincent, 6th Feb. 1797.

SIR,

I enclose, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, copies of letters I this day received from Commodore Nelson, giving an account of the

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action between His Majesty's ships La Minerva and Blanche with two Spanish frigates, and of the subsequent events, which reflect the highest honour on the Commodore, the Captains, Officers, and ships' companies of those frigates. Too much cannot be said of the dignified retreat of La Minerva, after maintaining two such conflicts.

I beg permission to state to their Lordship's that Lieut. Noble, who was so desperately wounded in one of the enterprises on the coast of Genoa, ambitious to follow the fortunes of his Commodore as Flag-lieutenant, has suffered a second time in this gallant action.

I also enclose a letter from Captain Macnamara, of His Majesty's ship Southampton, relating the particulars of his capturing a Spanish corvette on the coast of Genoa.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Victory, off Cape St. Vincent, 7th Feb. 1797.

SIR,

I desire you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I sailed from Lisbon on the 18th January, with a view to stand off and on without the Bar, for twenty-four hours, to give time for the Portuguese squadron, and trade, destined for the Brazils, to come out; but from the unfortunate circumstance of the St. George taking the ground on the Bar, I was detained a day after Rear-Admiral Do Valle crossed it to recover the boats of the squadron, which had been sent to her assistance. The moment they returned I proceeded in his track, and saw two stragglers of the convoy fifty leagues to the westward of Cape St. Vincent, the distance I had arranged with him to cover his rear, and I was prevented by adverse winds from reaching this station until yesterday, when I was joined by Rear-Admiral Parker, with the Prince George, Namur,

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Orion, Irresistible, and Thalia, and, this morning, by the Colossus, which had been left at Lisbon to repair a defect in her mainmast; and having learned from Vice-Admiral Vandeput that some army-victuallers, ordnance storeships, and a transport, with recruits for the garrison of Gibraltar, are arrived at Lisbon, I have detached the Caroline to bring them hither; and when they join, I propose to see them into the Straits' Mouth, and if I hear nothing more of Commodore Nelson's movements than is contained in the enclosed correspondence, which has passed between him and Lieut.-General De Burgh, and myself, I intend to return to Lisbon, as the season for opening the campaign will by that time approach, and I shall be in readiness to take the necessary measures to counteract any designs the enemy may have against Portugal.

The intelligence I have received from General O'Hara, states the Spanish fleet in Carthagena to be making every preparation for proceeding down the Mediterranean, and I herewith enclose a list thereof, and I learn there are ten or twelve sail of the line fitting at Cadiz.

From the enclosed report of the state of the St. George I have directed her to be docked, Don Rodrigo de Souza having very obligingly ordered the ship which at present occupies the dock to be put out to receive her, and the Zealous is getting forward fast with her operations.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO EARL SPENCER.

H.M.S. Victory, in Lagos Bay, 16th Feb. 1797.

MY LORD,

The correct conduct of every Officer and man in the squadron on the 14th instant, made it improper to distinguish one more than another in my public letter, because I am confident that had those who were least in action

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been in the situation of the fortunate few, their behaviour would not have been less meritorious; yet, to your Lordship it becomes me to state that Captain Troubridge, in the Culloden, led the squadron through the enemy in a masterly style, and tacked *the instant the signal flew*, and was gallantly supported by the Blenheim, Prince George, Orion, Irresistible, and Colossus; the latter had her fore and fore-topsail-yards wounded, and they unfortunately broke in the slings in stays, which threw her out, and impeded the tacking of the Victory.

Commodore Nelson, who was in the rear on the starboard tack, took the lead on the larboard, and contributed very much to the fortune of the day, as did Captain Collingwood; and, in the close, the San Josef and San Nicolas having fallen foul of each other, the Captain laid them on board, and Captain Berry, who served as a volunteer, entered at the head of the boarders, and Commodore Nelson followed immediately, and took possession of them both; the crippled state of these ships, and of the Captain, entangled as they were, and that part of the enemy's fleet which had been kept off in the morning (as described in the public letter) joining at the instant, it became necessary to collect the squadron, to resist an attempt to wrest those ships, and the Salvador del Mundo and San Ysidro, from us, which occasioned the discontinuance of the action.

The enemy has still twenty-two ships of the line, and nine frigates, in condition for service, off Cape St. Vincent, and the moment our damaged ships are repaired, and proper jury-masts, &c. raised on board the prizes, I shall face him in my way to Lisbon.

The ships' returns of killed and wounded, although not always the criterion of their being more or less in action, is, in this instance, correctly so. If I succeed in getting our trophies into the Tagus, it is my intention to place Masters and Commanders in them all.

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Captain Hallowell, whose conduct on board the Victory during the action has made him more dear to me than before, declining this sort of service on account of the idleness it is likely to produce, I request as the greatest favour your Lordship can confer on me, that you will have the goodness to give him the command of a large frigate, manned, and allow him to serve under my command.

It is with great repugnance I say anything to your Lordship about promotions, knowing how much you must be pressed upon at home; but Commodore Nelson being uncommonly anxious to reward Lieutenants Spicer and Noble, the former now first of the Captain, and the latter most desperately wounded in the belly and shoulder on board La Minerva, in her action with the Sabina, in addition to a shot he got in his neck on the coast of Genoa, his father, an Officer in the army, and a brother, Midshipman in the navy, having died on service in the West Indies, will, I trust, excuse my naming them to you a second time. Sensible as I am of the just attention paid to the merits of all who have had the happiness to share in successful actions with the enemy since you have been at the head of the Board of Admiralty, I do not presume to call your attention to others.

I have omitted to notice that Rear-Admiral Sir William Parker, whose flag was on board the Prince George, in the van on both tacks, made his signals in a very Officer-like manner; for the rest I beg leave to refer you to Captain Calder, who is thoroughly master of the subject, and I desire to recommend him and Captain Grey to your protection.

I had a conversation with Admiral Waldegrave on the subject of his carrying a duplicate of these despatches, which, as there existed a possibility of our bringing the Spanish fleet to action a second time, he very commendably declined: perhaps your Lordship will think it due

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to him to send the Romney to Lisbon, to convey him, his suite and baggage (rather too much for a frigate), to England. I have the honour to be your Lordship's, &c.

J. JERVIS.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Victory, off Lagos, 22nd February, 1797.

SIR,

I am so penetrated with the zeal and disinterestedness of Captain Hallowell, who refused to go to England in the Lively, and now declines carrying duplicates of the despatches in the Hope Lugger, because he thinks he may be of use to me in case of our again meeting with the Spanish fleet, that I beg you will represent it to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, who I am sure will do justice to his extraordinary merit upon this and all other occasions since he has been under my command.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

FROM EARL SPENCER.

Admiralty, 7th March, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you on the 3rd instant, on the moment of receiving your account of the glorious event of the 14th February, because I was unwilling to let a moment escape without expressing (however weakly) the high satisfaction excited in all our minds by your conduct and success on that occasion. It is with great pleasure that I now have to acquaint you that the public has felt the importance of that event, and the merit of those concerned in it, in a way they ought to do, and the exultation and applause which it has occasioned have been worthy of the brilliant exploits which have given rise to them. The two Houses

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of Parliament have unanimously voted you their thanks, with every expression of praise and panegyric from every man of all parties in both of them, and you will receive them in the proper form from the Chancellor and Speaker. The Board of Admiralty distinguished your victory by as ample a promotion as I believe has ever been ordered on any such occasion, and have accordingly sent out Post commissions for the Masters and Commanders who were present in the action, and commissions of Master and Commander to the two First-lieutenants of the Victory and the First-lieutenants of every line-of-battle ship engaged in it. His Majesty has also been graciously pleased to direct that a gold medal, similar to that which was given on the victory under Lord Howe, on the 1st of June, should be given to and worn by the Flag-officers and Captains in your line-of-battle, as a memorial of a victory obtained over a force so superior to your own; and in order more particularly to mark His Royal approbation of this service, he has commanded me to acquaint you with his intention of conferring a British Earldom on you, as soon as you express the title you are desirous of having. I am happy to be charged with the communication of honours so well earned, and though I am persuaded nothing I can say can enhance the value of them, I cannot resist my desire of adding my most sincere and cordial congratulations to you on the glorious event by which they are occasioned. It is with much pleasure I observe that the only recommendation for a promotion mentioned in your letter of the 16th February, which will not be included in the general one on account of the action (to which I before alluded) namely that of Lieutenant Noble, had already been anticipated by us. Commodore Nelson had made so good a report of that Officer's conduct in the action with the Sabina . . . . occasions that though a little beyond the usual course of promotion, I thought it but fair that he should have it.

I feel very anxious to hear again from you, though I

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collect from Sir Robert Calder's report that it is probable the enemy have returned to Cadiz. Sir Robert (on whom The King was pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood on his arrival) will return to you in a very few days, with a squadron, consisting of the Ville de Paris, and three or four two-deckers; the arrangements which I mentioned to you in my letter of the 1st of March, are, in consequence of the conversation we have had with Sir Robert Calder, a little altered; we find that it will be necessary for the St. George to come home, and therefore Captain Thomas need not go out; the Britannia too will, as I understand, be a fitter ship to send back in lieu of the Ville de Paris than the Victory, which latter, though not very stout, he thinks may stand a summer longer. Admiral Nelson will, I find, prefer a two-decked ship to a larger one, and Admiral Parker may therefore have the choice between the Victory and the Barfleur; but as I suppose he will prefer the latter as more permanent, some arrangements shall be made accordingly, which Sir Robert Calder will carry out with him; and I should recommend your sending home Sir Charles Knowles in the Britannia, if you see no objection to it.

As to the observations contained in my letter of the 1st instant on the state of the naval campaign, you have so well anticipated my views by your proceedings a fortnight before I wrote them, that it becomes unnecessary to add any more on that subject.

The public letters will afford you all the information on the subject of your official despatches that you can require; and I will not intrude on your time any longer, at present, than to assure you that no man can feel with more sincerity and truth than I do, the warmest wishes for the continuance of your success and the increase of your well-deserved celebrity. I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your very obedient and humble servant,

SPENCER.

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STANDING ORDER.—TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, at sea, 5th April, 1797.

THE Commander-in-chief observes with concern that the ships of the squadron do not preserve the prescribed distances from each other in the order of sailing with the precision necessary for making a sudden impression upon the enemy, or to avoid accidents by falling on board of each other, which will happen continually if they do not keep their stations correctly; he thinks many ships are too sparing of their mainmasts when to leeward or astern, and requests, when any of the advanced ships of either division are at too great a distance from the leader of their column, the ship or ships next astern are to pass them without respect to persons, as directed in the second article, p. 8, of the Instructions relative to the order of sailing.

When the signal is made for tacking or wearing in succession, every ship from the leader should force sail, more especially those in the rear.—Vide p. 11, art. 8, and p. 59, art. 8, in the Orders of sailing, agreeable to the Memorandums given out. ST. VINCENT.

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CHAPTER IX.

The Mutiny in the fleet before Cadiz.

BEFORE Lord St. Vincent had been long in the Tagus, England was again in despondency and alarm; but the cause came from the least expected quarter.

Her fleet had set the menace of foreign invasion at nought,— the danger now was of being deserted by the fleet: stability, through her naval prowess, had been announced from Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown, but now a threat of being shorn of her strength came from the Nore and Spithead; while there the fleet adorned its flag with laurels, here it disgraced it by the Mutiny,—the most dismal occurrence in our Naval annals.

Were the administration of the Navy yet legitimately within the scope of this biography, it would be incumbent, and as easy, to show, that whatever were the excess of insubordination—to which alone, as most insist, that outbreak should be attributed,— or foulness of treason, to which, according to others, and of high authority too, disaffection first, and desperation afterwards, drove the rebels; it is certain, that the powerful uprising, which Lord Spencer was called upon to suppress, was the sturdy revolt, which had then at length ripened from seeds sown through

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many years of mal-administration of the Navy before his Lordship acceded to office; that long official neglect of intolerable grievance, and inexcusable supineness towards measures of progressive improvement, had, as they sooner or later infallibly do, at last roused illegal and exasperated enforcement of redress.* But such argument is inadmissible here. Here may be viewed only the situation and character of an individual—to mark how the Officer, who, when a youth, in an instant quelled the mutiny which fronted his first step on board the Albany, now, in manhood, conducted himself when menaced by the insubordination of a large fleet, lying within the jaws of a hostile port, and blockading a greatly outnumbering opponent.

* A great deal has been written and said upon whether when this mutiny broke out, a sufficiency of provisions were supplied to the seamen; and Officers of the highest authority having staked opposite assertions, it would ill become the unqualified pen of these memoirs to presume to offer an opinion on it. Yet, there is applicable to at least one ship, an anecdote too fastly rivetted to his memory to be forgotten; and which as not altogether irrelevant to the general question, may perhaps be tolerated in a note.

When insubordination first appeared at Portsmouth the author's father was Purser of the Pompée 64; and when she returned to Spithead and joined the dissaffected there, she had been several months at sea without any additional supplies. The Pompée had mutinied, but was reduced to obedience; she now, however, joined the revolted fleet, and turned her Officers ashore.

In the report of the proceedings in Parliament the Purser perceived, that, what in his opinion was erroneous, viz. an idea that the men were stinted, obtained generally in the Country, much to the Admiralty's disadvantage in the discussion, and, as he thought, to the detriment of the public service, because of the injury which it always is to society, to make men sympathize with

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To entirely screen his crews from contagion was beyond human power; so little, indeed, was it ever contemplated, that, in reliance upon his nerve and his system, the most disaffected ships, and for that very reason, were annexed to his stern command, for restoration to loyalty and discipline. It therefore is to be seen how, when the infection arrived, it found him prepared; and by what general regulations, with what prompt severity, or with what well-judged extension of mercy, he exercised to the right intention, and successfully, the immense power delegated to his trust.

To exhibit the Officer on this scene, the letters and orders selected will unavoidably be rather numerous, but for this an apology will hardly be expected; not, surely, by the young Sailor, for to him they are the most authentic picture of the Admiral,

evil-doers. Mr. Tucker therefore made bold to address a letter to the First Lord of the Admiralty, stating, that had he not been forcibly put out of his ship, "which was victualled precisely as all the rest of the fleet," it would have been his duty as Purser, "to have paid a considerable sum of money to the ship's company in lieu of the allowance of provisions, which then they had been unable to consume." Now, it is because much of the Purser's subsequent good fortune was due to the close reasoning practical argument of this letter, that it here so forcibly occurs to mind. The First Lord of the Admiralty condescended to express his high content with the communication with which the Purser had approached him, and his Lordship testified it by appointing him to the first advantageous ship which offered, and that happening to be the London 74, her service threw him under Lord St. Vincent's notice; and then, thanks to his Lordship's unflinching support, and unbounded kindness and confidence, the tide in the Purser's career became a-flood rapidly.

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of his fleet, and of a crisis, which, as on the debate on it, Mr. Fox was so strenuous to impress on the House of Commons, "may happen again;" and to but few of any sphere can such documents be wholly uninteresting: for in such a period of dismay and danger it is, that the nation learns the value of a man; when, "upon the constitution of a single mind, upon the firmness of a single wrist, the fate of an Empire may hang." Had the mutineers in the fleet before Cadiz, carried their treason to the pitch of that which raged at the Nore and Spithead,—and that they would have done so if not as instantly quelled as they made their attempts at it, no one who reflects on the times, on the composition of many of the crews, and on what the Courts Martial developed, can for a moment doubt,—had they set loyalty and discipline at nought there, the extent of national calamity which must have ensued, is now happily beyond conjecture. But thus much is clear, the blockade must have ceased; the Spanish fleet would have gone forth unopposed; the junction of the fleets of France and Spain would have realized for Buonaparte his temporary command of the Channel; and had such a combination of hostile naval force been accomplished, while mutiny was rife in our own fleets at home and abroad, while England desponded, and Ireland only panted for revenge, who will venture to say the consequence?

To these orders and letters will be prefixed a few anecdotes, of which authentic memoranda remain.

Information was of course transmitted to his

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Lordship of the disgraceful scenes at the Nore and Spithead. It was also more than probable that contagion would reach his own fleet. Immediately it was clear to him, that if ever a trial of strength should be actually attempted, the Officers' reliance would be upon that trusty loyalty of the Marines, which never yet has failed, but always has been most ardent when most needed. Bringing them, therefore, forward upon all occasions, berthing them apart, separating them as much as possible from the seamen, clothing them with all the consequence he could, Lord St. Vincent placed the Marines of his fleet in that conspicuous importance, in which, from thenceforward, they have ever since been holden. From the Mutiny in the fleet before Cadiz it is, that this most gallant corps dates its present consequence in the naval armament of the Country. "I assembled," his lordship wrote to Captain Duckworth, "I assembled all the Captains of Marines on board the Ville de Paris, under pretext of informing them about uniformity in dress, in exercise, and in economy: but really to give them some sense about keeping a watchful eye, not only upon their own men, but upon the seamen. I directed that a Subaltern should visit them at their meals; I exhorted them to keep up the pride and spirit of their detachments; to prevent conversation being carried on in Irish, and to call the roll at least twice a-day."

Various orders respecting the Marines of his fleet will hereafter appear, but one is anticipated, because of the excellent effect to which it contributed.

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GENERAL ORDER.

FOR the maintenance of order in His Majesty's ships of-the-line under my command, and for the preservation of them from fire, and the dreadful calamities incident thereto, the following regulations are henceforth to be strictly observed when all or any of them are moored, or at single anchor.

1st. Guard to be paraded on the poop every morning at half-past eight o'clock, with all the form and order practised in the best regulated parades; and, after going through a short exercise, to descend to the Quarter-deck at nine o'clock precisely, where all the accustomed formalities are to be gone through, with respect and decorum due to the occasion, (although no Colours are allowed)—and, where there is a band, "God save the King," is to be played, while the Guard is under presented arms, and all persons present are required to stand with their hats off, till the Guard shoulders. After the commanding Officer of the detachment has received his orders from the Captain, or commanding Sea-officer on the Quarter-deck, the arms are to be lodged, and the Guard held in constant readiness for occasional service.

2nd. No non-commissioned Officer, Marine, or Soldier told off for the Guard, shall be called upon to perform any of the ordinary duties of the ship. The seamen are fully competent.

3. Gives a scale of Guards for each rate of man-of-war.

4. A Sergeant, or Corporal of the Guard, to patrol the ship every half hour, with two privates.

5. The Guard to continue for three days, and the relief to be exempt from duty the day before they mount, to clean their arms, clothes, and accoutrements.

ST. VINCENT.

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Then, as to his crews; well-knowing that an unoccupied ship's company would be most fruitful of discontent, and most exposed to the designs of the mischievous, the engaging them in such stirring employment as, whether in participation, or in interest in the result, would give wholesome occupation to the mind, was his Lordship's constant device; and neither the inhabitants of Cadiz, nor the Spanish fleet, could have imagined that there was a tittle of disaffection in their enemy's force, before the boats were seen proceeding to witness the penalty, — for hostilities, instead of slackening, were redoubled.

It has been already stated that the blockade was by two squadrons, — the in-shore, the afterwards "chosen band," being the *élite* of the fleet. Now, not that the circumstances of the war required it, but, as his Lordship used to say, "to divert the animal," orders were issued for the nightly bombardment of Cadiz by that squadron: launches and a bomb-vessel were fitted for the purpose at Gibraltar. It need not be said that Sir Horatio Nelson, who commanded in-shore, allowed no one to conduct these attacks but himself, and it is well known with what daring courage, and what hair-breadth escape from death; but the recital of his achievements is inadmissible in these pages. After that, and led by that hero, followed the assault on Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, whither Lord St. Vincent sent some of his choicest, Captains Troubridge, Hood, and Bowen, and where his very great favourite, "Terpsichore Bowen," fell "covered with honour and glory." How deeply the loss of this hero grieved

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his Lordship, his very beautiful letter on the occasion will hereafter testify.

The ships themselves were kept in a state very nearly of isolation. Inter-communication was generally discouraged: with any ship on arrival from England it was forbidden, except by express permission from the Commander-in-chief himself; not even a divisional Admiral could give it to his own ships. In the management of each ship's company Lord St. Vincent, of course, found the most efficient co-operation in those models of his own moulding, the officers, and that element of his own creation, the discipline, of the Mediterranean fleet; and upon the arrival of very disaffected ships, he would at times contrive that those Captains should have the temporary command of them: then, while relaxation of no rule was permitted, while punishment was not merely denounced and threatened, but, as will be found, was so immediately inflicted, that the inseparability of crime from its penalty was known to all, not less were maintained towards all, the most fearless above-board conduct, and the most scrupulous render of justice. Accordingly, when the Alcmene joined from England, and conveyed letters from the as-yet-unsubdued mutineers at the Nore to the seamen of this fleet, urging them to resistance, and to enforce the same "redress of grievances;" and when Captain Dacres, discovering some such inflammatories to be addressed to the Barfleur, submitted whether they might not be withholden, — "Certainly not, Sir," was the great Admiral's reply. "Let every letter be immediately delivered; I dare to say

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the Commander-in-chief will know how to support his own authority." And it having then so happened at Lisbon, that while he communicated with the Admiralty about the protection of the seamen from overcharges, some letters were detained at the Post-Office; to prevent any misapprehension on the subject, he caused the whole to be fairly announced to the fleet, — for, at all times, the prompt delivery of letters had been matter of great importance to Lord St. Vincent: he caused a post-office to be fitted-up in his flag-ship, and made the conduct of it the special duty of a Lieutenant, who was styled the Post Master.

Thinking nothing, however minute, which at all affected the comfort of his crews, beneath his notice, when there happened such a deficiency of tobacco that dearness compelled the Pursers to diminish the accustomed supply, he ordered the former allowance to be continued to every single man, taking upon his own purse the expense of indemnity: but then, for a breach, however trifling, of the regulations which the service demanded, no rank could hope to escape with impunity. Vehement indeed, was the reprimand which his Lordship himself, having espied him, gave to the thoughtless seaman who, jumping up from below while the national Anthem sounded, for a moment omitted the salute to the Crown of taking off his hat: and not even an Admiral, commanding a division, could hoist a boat out when the order then forbade, without a public reproof, circulated in a general memorandum throughout the whole fleet.

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As some ground upon which to form an idea of the nature of the disaffection which menaced his Lordship, it may be stated, on the authority of the late gallant and active-minded Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, that while the fleet lay in the Tagus, where Sir Isaac was the British naval Commissioner, and had obtained considerable influence, a notable Portuguese Priest, who, having been the Confessor of the lower order of the natives, had become so to most of the Roman Catholics in the fleet, and was in Sir Isaac's pay at three shillings a-day, showed to the Admiral a letter which he had received from two seamen of the Ville de Paris, communicating their intention to assassinate the Commander-in-chief as soon as the resistance which they anticipated had broken out. The Padre also produced a copy of his reply, recommending them to "defer their project," for, quaintly, "they would hardly consider that the old gentleman was yet *quite* prepared for so sudden an exit." To such an extent was mutiny in the Princess Royal agitated by that formidable tool for treason, a ruined, villanous, clever lawyer, Bott, who was the Corresponding Society's delegate on the Cadiz station, that, as he confessed, the intention was to hang Lord St. Vincent, and transfer the command of the fleet to one Davidson, another delegate; all the Officers to be turned out of their ships, except that one whose duties concerned the crew's own personal safety, and whose value they knew could not be replaced, Mr. Jackson, the Master of the Ville de Paris, whom they had designed to navigate the fleet up the Mediter-

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ranean till they had joined the squadron there. But Mr. Jackson having been an Officer who, like his Chief, had made the rascals do their duty with extra smartness, was not to escape a similar reward, only it was deferred till they reached Cape Clear.

It now only remains to be seen, how, when insubordination, and accompanied by villainy of this magnitude, did make its open appearance, Lord St. Vincent dealt with it. A remarkable occasion will be mentioned, not indeed the first outbreak of mutiny, nor its last effort, but that one which excited the greatest sensation in the fleet, — that which came with most untoward circumstances, — that of which the enforcement of the penalty had, in Lord St. Vincent's opinion, the most salutary effect.

Before the occurrence to be particularly recited, and besides those concerning which the necessary orders will hereafter appear, the Romulus became refractory; the Captain enforced obedience; but he also engaged, that by a certain day the ship should go to England. A promise having been thus made, Lord St. Vincent ratified it; but the day before the ship sailed, he drafted every man out of her and sent another crew. Captain Maitland, by a thrust of his sword, had laid a rebel dead on the Kingfisher's deck, and was tried and acquitted for it. But on the arrival of Sir Roger Curtis' squadron it was that the crisis of disaffection raged. Then was found that the spirit which, dread of the civil power, and of dearth of provisions,—which batteries for hot shot, and hanging of rebels had defeated in England, was not quelled:—that the penalty re-

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moved from actual sight, menaces again were heard —that, relying on the shelter of the enemy's port, rebellion again arose. Then also was seen how one man in dignified self-possession, and in calm reliance on his own superiority of nerve and intellect, could enforce the law and discipline throughout a powerful fleet, and maintain undiminished terror over a far more powerful enemy.

No sooner had Sir Roger Curtis arrived, than applications came to the Commander-in-chief for Courts-martial on mutineers from three of those ships,—the Marlborough, the Lion, and the Centaur. Selection will be made of the sequel to the Marlborough.

As the squadron approached, and before the request for a Court-martial, this ship being known to the Commander-in-chief to have been among the most disorganized at Spithead, had been ordered to take her berth in the centre, at a small distance from the rest of the fleet. It, however, had so happened that a very violent mutiny in her had broken out at Beerhaven, and again during the passage, which had been suppressed by the Officers, but chiefly by the First-lieutenant. The very object too of this mutiny was to protect the life of a seaman who had forfeited it by a capital crime. A Court-martial on the principal mutineers was immediately assembled; and one was no sooner sentenced to die, than the Commander-in-chief ordered him to be executed on the following morning, "*and by the crew of the Marlborough alone, no "part of the boats' crews from the other ships, as had*

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"*been usual on similar occasions, to assist in the pun-*
"*ishment*"—his Lordship's invariable order on the execution of mutineers. On the receipt of the necessary commands for this execution, the Captain of the Marlborough, Captain Ellison, waited upon the Commander-in-chief, and reminding his Lordship that a determination, that their shipmates should not suffer capital punishment, had been the very cause of the ship's company's mutiny, expressed his conviction that the Marlborough's crew would never permit the man to be hanged on board that ship.

Receiving the Captain on the Ville de Paris' Quarter-deck, before the Officers and ship's company, hearkening in breathless silence to what passed, and standing with his hat in his hand over his head, as was his Lordship's invariable custom during the whole time that any person, whatever were his rank, even a common seaman, addressed him on service, Lord St. Vincent listened very attentively till the Captain ceased to speak; and then, after a pause, replied,

"What do you mean to tell me, Captain Ellison, that you can not *command* His Majesty's ship the Marlborough? for if that is the case, Sir, I will immediately send on board an Officer who can."

The Captain then requested that, at all events, the boats' crews from the rest of the fleet might, as always had been customary in the service on executions, attend at this also, to haul the man up; for he really did not expect the Marlborough's would do it."

Lord St. Vincent sternly answered: "Captain

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Ellison,—you are an old Officer, Sir,—have served long — suffered severely in the service, and have lost an arm in action, — and I should be very sorry that any advantage should be now taken of your advanced years. That man *shall be* hanged — at eight o'clock to-morrow morning—*and by his own ship's company*—for not a hand from any other ship in the fleet shall touch the rope. You will now return on board, Sir; and, lest you should not prove able to command your ship, an Officer will be at hand to you who can."

Without another word Captain Ellison instantly retired. After he had reached his ship, he received orders to cause her guns to be housed and secured, and that at daybreak in the morning her ports should be lowered. A general order then issued to the fleet for all launches to rendezvous under the Prince at seven o'clock on the following morning, armed with carronades and twelve rounds of ammunition for service; each launch to be commanded by a lieutenant, having an expert and trusty gunners'-mate and four quarter-gunners, exclusive of the launch's crew; the whole to be under the command of Captain Campbell,* of the Blenheim. The written orders to the Captain will appear in their place. On presenting them, Lord St. Vincent said, "he was to attend the execution, and if any symptoms of mutiny appeared in the Marlborough, any attempt to open her ports, or any resistance to the hanging of the prisoner, he was to proceed close touching the ship, and to fire into

* Whom our gallant veterans well remember as "Old Caliban."

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her, and to continue his fire until all mutiny or resistance should cease; and that, should it become absolutely necessary, he should even sink the ship in face of the fleet.

Accordingly, at seven the next morning, all the launches, thus armed, proceeded from the Prince to the Blenheim, and thence, Captain Campbell having assumed the command, to the Marlborough.

Having lain on his oars a short time alongside, the Captain then formed his force in a line athwart her bows, at rather less than pistol-shot distance off, and then he ordered the tompions to be taken out of the carronades, and to load.

At half past seven, the hands throughout the fleet having been turned up to witness punishment, the eyes of all bent upon a powerfully armed boat as it quitted the flag-ship; every one knowing that there went the Provost-marshal, conducting his prisoner to the Marlborough for execution. The crisis was come; now was to be seen whether the Marlborough's crew would hang one of their own men.

The ship being in the centre between the two lines of the fleet, the boat was soon alongside, and the man was speedily placed on the Cathead and haltered. A few awful minutes of universal silence followed, which was at last broken by the Watch-bells of the fleet striking eight o'clock. Instantly the flag-ship's gun fired, and at the sound the man was lifted well off; but then, and visibly to all, he dropped back again! and the sensation throughout the fleet was intense. For, at this dreadful moment, when the eyes of every man in every ship were

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straining upon this execution, as the decisive struggle between authority and mutiny, as if it were destined that the whole fleet should see the hesitating unwillingness of the Marlborough's crew to hang their rebel, and the efficacy of the means taken to enforce obedience, by an accident on board the ship the men at the yard-rope unintentionally let it slip, and the turn of the balance seemed calamitously lost; but then they hauled him up to the yard-arm with a run,— the law was satisfied, and, said Lord St. Vincent at the moment, perhaps one of the greatest of his life, "Discipline is preserved, Sir!"

When the sentence was executed, and not any disturbance appeared, that it might be again made perceptible to all the fleet, that abundant force had been provided to overpower any resistance which a line-of-battle ship could offer, Captain Campbell broke his line, and rowing down, placed his launches as close alongside the Marlborough as their oars would permit; and then re-forming them, resumed his station across her bows, continuing there, until the time for the body's hanging having expired, it was taken down, sewed up as is usual in its own hammock with a shot, and was carried in one of the Marlborough's boats to half a mile from the ship, and sunk; upon which, Captain Campbell withdrew his force, and the Marlborough's signal was made, to take her station in the line.

This was the fatal blow to the mutiny in the fleet before Cadiz; not that violent insubordination, treasonable conspiracies, and open resistances did not again and again occur, to be as often and as instan-

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taneously quelled; for the ships were many that were sent out from England; several arrived in almost open mutiny, and they brought a profusion of infection to the rest. The dreadful sentence was again and again inflicted, and in all cases of insubordination the crews were invariably the executioners of their own rebels; but never again was the power of the law doubted by any one.

Though a minute relation of each of these painful occurrences would still further exhibit Lord St. Vincent's incomparable fitness to command in times of such emergency, yet the narrative in its leading features would be similar, and is, after one sample, the less necessary, because some sentences and the Commander-in-chief's orders for the executions, varying according to the circumstances of the moment, will be presented. The Sailor who may read them will scarcely need to be reminded, that among the Princess Royal's mutineers the principal traitor who pointed to "*Cadiz as their future country*," who in the court-martial made such an artful feint of insanity as to deceive many, and who when hard pressed by evidence suddenly threw off his disguise, and cross-examined the witnesses with that sharpness and flippancy, and at the same time that unskilfulness so fatal to success, by which in the Courts of justice dangerous characters so frequently exhibit their talent but expose their guilt, was at a glance seen through and through by Lord St. Vincent. Far more notorious is it, that when the St. George joined the fleet from England with some rebels in irons, whom the courage of the intrepid

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Captain Peard had suppressed, and the Court-martial immediately assembled pronounced sentence on a Saturday, execution, by Lord St. Vincent's express order, was carried into effect on the following, though *Sunday* morning!

Those who can picture to themselves what a mutiny is, even in a single ship, will not deem it a season for any kind of delay; and then disaffection menacing to disorganize a large fleet, was a crisis in which the giving such order proved not, that the Officer from whom it issued, did not remember that the holy-day was hallowed. The command to cease in it from all manner of work extends not to labour absolutely necessary. But there was also mercy in the order; it spake with tenfold force to all the crews of the certainty of punishment for crime; it impressed upon every seaman an intimidating sense of the terrible firmness and vigour of their Commander-in-chief.

Among the many instances of the rapidity with which such distressing measures produced happy effects, besides that of the Marlborough herself, who shortly after the execution was reported as a ship of even exemplary good conduct, the London may be cited, because on authority. She was commanded by Captain John Child Purvis, and shortly after the pause to mutiny at Spithead was sent out to Lord St. Vincent's fleet, which at that moment lay in the Tagus. This line-of-battle ship's crew had remarkably signalized themselves by the unanimity of their disaffection, and the length to which they had carried their violence, having turned out

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of the ship the Admiral Sir John Colpoys and all the Officers excepting a Lieutenant, Mr. Bover. But him they retained to hang; and actually so far proceeded towards the murder as to halter him on the forecastle; and while that undaunted Officer, though the rope was round his neck, and the men lying on to haul him up, still intrepidly scorned the villains, calling them "the basest and most dastard "of traitors and cowards," mercy was extended to him only because one of the delegates standing by said, he "remembered young Bover as a brave boy." When this ship departed from England, she was in a state close bordering upon open insubordination. Indeed, on the evening before she sailed, when some improper conduct of the men in her launch was complained of by Captain Barrie, who for that purpose went on board her in his gig, shot was thrown from the ship's lower-deck ports, to sink his boat alongside; and with perceptible agitation and audible murmurings the surly sulky hands would scarcely weigh the ship's anchor or loosen her top-sails.

As she approached Lisbon, the men began to bethink themselves, to whom they were going, and to show some little respect to their Officers; and one or two of the Petty-officers would now and then condescend to touch their hats as the First-lieutenant passed along the decks.

When they arrived in the Tagus, as soon as they had saluted Lord St. Vincent's flag, Captain Purvis waited upon the Commander-in-chief, on board the Ville de Paris, and the London's boat was, as

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was always the case with those from ships fresh from England, ordered off from alongside. During the Captain's audience, the well-known great strength of the tide in the river made the barge drop again close to the flag-ship; when one of the bargemen, addressing a Blue-jacket's head peeping out of a lower-deck port, said, "I say, there, what have you fellows been doing out here, while we have been fighting for your beef and pork?" To which the other very quietly said, "If you'll take my advice, you'll just say nothing at all about all that here; for by G—d if old Jarvie hears ye he'll have you dingle dangle at the yard-arm at eight o'clock to-morrow morning." A very few days after, the fleet returned to its station before Cadiz; and it so happened that the London was placed abreast the Ville de Paris; and there having been a good deal of conversation in the fleet of the very violent lengths to which she had carried her mutiny at Spithead, it was surmised that her crew were still disobedient, and that this station was assigned to her for prompter enforcement of orders. Upon that, the ship's company of the Blenheim wrote, through their Captain, to Rear-Admiral Frederick, whose flag was on board her, that "they had heard that the London's were still refractory; and if so, they hoped that the Admiral would solicit for the Blenheim's the honour of going alongside her, and teaching those fellows their duty and obedience." The Blenheim's were thanked, but were informed it was "a groundless apprehension;" and, in reality, the London's had in a week become as

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quiet as mice, and ever after maintained an excellent character;—for none admire firmness and vigour in their Officers more than seamen themselves.

With one more look at Lord St. Vincent among mutineers, the subject will for a time be dropped. It is thought indispensable to notice the case of the Impétueux, though it was not actually under his Lordship's command that she rebelled, because his Lordship's conduct on the occasion has been strongly censured as severe, and by those from whom at least forbearance would have been expected.

The statement of the transaction has been collected from authority.*

The Impétueux was one of a large fleet at Beerhaven, in 1799, under the command of Admiral Lord Bridport. At noon-day her crew broke out into open mutiny; but the determined conduct of her Captain, Sir Edward Pellew, and his Officers, driving the mutineers below, immediately suppressed them; the ringleaders were secured, and order was restored. A report was immediately made to Lord Bridport, with an application for a Court-martial; and such remonstrance did his Lordship's refusal produce from Sir Edward Pellew, that the Admiral, thinking himself treated with less respect than was his due, sent for Captain Domett to witness Sir Edward's conduct. Sir Edward appealed to Captain Domett as to his situation in being left with a mutinous crew without an example made of a single ringleader; and on Captain Domett's siding

* Captain Peter Richards, C. B., the late Mr. Jackson, then the Master of the flag-ship, and the author's Father.

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with him, Sir Edward returned on board in full expectation of having succeeded.

The next day Lord Bridport's signal detached the Impétueux to the southward, in company with twelve or fourteen other ships, for no other reason, as Sir Edward anticipated, than that the trial should take place apart from the main body of the fleet; but an order that he was not to communicate with even the senior Officer, suggested the idea that he might be miscalculating, which a signal to follow Sir Charles Cotton's motions soon after confirmed. Sir Charles was now sent with his detachment to reinforce the Mediterranean fleet, and, in the middle of July, they found Lord St. Vincent at Minorca. The squadron arrived very slowly, for it was nearly a dead calm; and the Rear-Admiral getting into his boat, rowed into Mahon harbour, to wait upon his Commander-in-chief, who pressed his stay to dine. Lord St. Vincent soon heard what he might expect from the Captain of the Impétueux, and elicited the whole story in apparently a semi-joking, semi-serious mood.

When it was all told, he beckoned Mr. Jackson from his seat at the table. "Jackson, here,—go and moor the squadron in a circle, and place the mutineer in the centre. You understand me? let's have no nonsense here, nor difficulties hereafter." Sir Edward Pellew immediately renewed his application for a Court-martial, but his Lordship also at first refused, asking "what was meant by invariably sending the mutinous ships to him?" and, "Do they think that I will be hangman

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to the fleet?" Sir Edward's urgent repetition of his request then brought the very serious nature and violence of his ship's company's mutiny under his Lordship's notice. "It is not your fault," he then said to Sir Edward; "you have done your duty, and you shall have a Court-martial on these men. I will give an order immediately, and I hope it will not rise till it has pronounced judgment." The Court sat, and sentenced three men to be hanged. But one of them, a gunner's mate, after condemnation, disclosed many circumstances respecting that mutiny; confessing that its success in the Impétueux was to have been a signal for a general revolt in the fleet at Bantry Bay; and he unmasked another arch traitor, who, though the chief instigator of the insubordination, had nevertheless so adroitly contrived to keep himself in the background, that he was beyond the reach of evidence. This discovery, coupled with the prisoner's previous good character, induced Sir Edward Pellew to intercede with the Commander-in-chief for mercy. But this Lord St. Vincent had anticipated; and seeing, as he walked the Quarter-deck, that Sir Edward approached in his barge, his Lordship went into his cabin, saying to Mr. Jackson, "Pellew is coming to cry mercy; now do you keep him in good-humour, for I shan't let that man off because they now find out he was a good man." Accordingly, all Captain Pellew's entreaties were unavailing; and when the good character was urged, his Lordship would not listen to the appeal. "Those who have suffered hitherto," he said, "have

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for the most part been worthless fellows; I shall now convince the seamen that no character, however good, shall save a man who is guilty of mutiny.* Besides, if I let this man off, these fellows well know, that by cringing subservience and outward officiousness, they will be sure of the testimony of the Captain and Lieutenants, that they always before were "*good men*," and upon the strength of that, they calculate on getting themselves out of the scrape, regardless of how many others they may have induced to follow, by that very character. If he had been deserving of the character you now give him, he would not have been guilty of the crime for which he is condemned."

The sentence was carried into execution on the following morning, and when the ship's company were assembled to witness it, the villain who had promoted the mutiny that led to so sad a scene, started at being ordered out to lead to the halter the dupes of his traitorous designs. That man was immediately discharged from the Navy, and the crew of the Impétueux returned to a cheerful performance of their duty, and became an orderly contented ship's company.

It is confidently anticipated, that cool reflection and sound judgment will say, that then too, Lord St. Vincent exercised his discretion aright, and with the same firmness which bore him triumphant

* "Hoc est portentum," the great Roman General also said to the mutineers in his army, "quod nullis hostiis, nullis supplicationibus, sine sanguine eorum qui tantum facinus ausi sint, expiari possit."—Liv. 28. c. 27.

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throughout the great mutiny. For the present, this painful subject is quitted, but his Lordship must hereafter again appear the upholder of naval discipline, and the uncompromising champion of lawful authority; and again he will exhibit the same, the fittest characteristics for the emergency, dauntless intrepidity and an inflexible determination to be obeyed.

GENERAL ORDER.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, 1st March, 1797.

ALL boats attending on Officers, either on public or private business, to put off from the shore at sun-sét, and return immediately on board their respective ships.

All the boats are to be hoisted in immediately after sunset, and no other boats be allowed to come on board or go from the ship after the watch is set, without the especial leave of the Captain.

An authenticated copy of this order to be given to each Lieutenant—to be read in the presence of the respective Officers and ships' companies—and to be hung up in a public and conspicuous part of the ship, that no one may plead ignorance thereof. ST. VINCENT.

FROM EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Admiralty, 2nd May, 1797.

SIR,

Disturbances of a very serious nature having lately taken place amongst the crews of the ships at Spithead, under the command of Admiral Lord Bridport, but which, by the measures that have in consequence been pursued, are happily terminated; I have it in command from my

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Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to acquaint you therewith, and to send you enclosed, for your information, a copy of a paper, by which it will appear that some of the ships that have lately joined you from Spithead, particularly those named in the margin (Bellerophon, Audacious, Theseus), had previously to their sailing from thence, taken a part in the plans which were formed for the redress of the alleged grievances, in order that, being aware of the circumstance, you may be prepared to take the most vigorous and effectual measures for counteracting any attempt that may be made by any evil designed persons to excite a spirit of mutiny amongst the crews of H. M. ships under your command. I am, &c. EVAN NEPEAN.

STANDING MEMORANDUM.

18th May, 1797.

THE barges and launches of the starboard division, with a Lieutenant and Midshipman in each, properly armed and supplied with anchoring and fire grapnels, and ropes, also with clamps, spikes, and a large hammer or maul, to be on board the Prince George at 9 o'clock every night, to row guard between the fleet and St. Sebastian, until sun-rise, under the directions of Vice-Admiral Thompson, and to obey the orders of his First-lieutenant, who is to command these boats for the night.

The barges and launches of the larboard division (provided and armed as above) to be on board the Blenheim at the same hour every night, to row guard from Rota down towards St. Lucar, until sun-rise, under the direction of Rear-Admiral Parker, and to obey the orders of his First-lieutenant, who is to command these boats for the night.

The barges and launches of the advanced ships (provided and armed in the same manner) are to assemble on board the Orion, to row guard a-head of their own ships towards

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the cod of the bay, during the same time, under the direction of Captain Sir James Saumarez, and to obey the orders of his First-lieutenant, who is to command them for the night. J. JERVIS.

N.B. Those launches which are fitted with carronades are to have them in the boats, with a proper supply of ammunition.

GENERAL ORDER.

29th May, 1797.

WHENEVER there is occasion to inflict punishment on board any of His Majesty's ships under my command, the respective captains are hereby required and directed to cause an Officer's guard of Marines to attend thereat: with loaded arms and bayonets fixed, in the manner it has been practised on board the Ville de Paris; and the Officers commanding the Marines on board the different ships in the squadron are directed to repair on board the Ville de Paris and inform themselves of Lieutenant Colonel Flight how the Guard is paraded and drawn up, preparatory to and during punishment. ST. VINCENT.

FROM EARL SPENCER.

Admiralty, 4th May, 1797.

DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 29th March and 6th April, and hope soon again to hear from you a satisfactory account of the arrival of Captain Freemantle and his squadron. I am much afraid, that, notwithstanding the orders Mazaredo is said to have received, he will not give you a good opportunity of meeting him, unless indeed he expects some ships home, which might make it absolutely necessary for him to come out.

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I was sorry to hear that there had been any such disposition as you mention on board the Britannia; you will have heard from Nepean what sad work of that kind we have had here. I hope and trust it is now all over, but you are too well acquainted with the service not to be convinced, with me, and every one else, I believe, who thinks of it, that the consequences of what has passed must necessarily be highly prejudicial to the future discipline of the Navy. It is right that you should be apprized that some of the first petitions that were sent purported to come from three of the ships now with you, but I have much doubt whether they did or no; the Audacious, the Bellerophon, and the Theseus. The extraordinary part of the business, is the secrecy with which it was conducted; not an Officer in the whole Channel fleet appears to have had a suspicion of anything of the kind having been in agitation, and yet when the mutiny broke out at Spithead, there had evidently been much concert and communication among the several ships. I have very little doubt that the vigilance and attention of the Officers under your command will not suffer any such proceedings to take place, and I hope that the very liberal encouragement which has been granted (though the occasion on which it was immediately granted was so unpleasant) will, upon the whole, (especially among those who are untainted with the mischief,) produce a good effect. The wages were undoubtedly too low in proportion to the times, and though in point of provision, I believe, the sailor had as ample an allowance as his own consumption required, I am surprised that the purser's deduction, and the system of short weights and measures depending on it, should have been so long tolerated; it does not, as far as we can discover, appear to have been originally authorized by any order, but to have been established by long custom. The augmentation to the Marines was a very delicate question, as it was more likely than any other to affect the army; the consideration induced the adoption of the mode of aug-

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mentation we have made use of, being nothing more than what, in the case of the army embarked on board ship, is already allowed to them. This business has certainly originated from the admission of some mischievous plotting persons (either among the County Quota men, or perhaps some of the Irish Defenders) into the fleet; it would not be amiss to discover if there are any of such description on board any particular ships, and if there are, the Officers should be careful to watch their operations. The plan pursued in the mutiny at Portsmouth, as well as at Plymouth, appears to have been more systematical than one would naturally expect from the common sailor, and I am confident, from what I observed of the proceedings, that it was but a very small part indeed of the men who took the lead; the rest followed, many of them, most unwillingly. I am, Dear Sir, with great truth, your very obedient humble servant, (Signed) SPENCER.

TO LORD SPENCER.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 22nd May, 1797.

MY LORD,

The disorder on board the Britannia was nothing like a mutiny, having originated entirely from the notorious imbecility of ; *à propos*, there are too many such in the command of line-of-battle ships.

I honour your Lordship for enforcing the discipline of the Navy, which I have with pain seen abandoned by . You want men of more dignity and spirit to command at the ports; and when the peace comes, I trust you will abolish the system of guardships, which have sown the seeds of all these ills, and are a perfect nuisance in every sense of the word. The Port-Admiral (for there always should be one in time of peace both at Portsmouth and Plymouth) may hoist

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his flag, as the French have done, upon the hulk, or on board a frigate.

The Bellerophon and Audacious do their business well; the former is well Officered and appointed, and I have put two able Lieutenants into the latter lately. The is an abomination, the First-lieutenant put Lieutenant into close confinement the other day without justifiable cause, while his Captain was ship visiting, and he has since been acquitted by the judgment of a Court-martial. If I can prevail upon Captain to go into the Captain, Rear-Admiral Nelson and Captain Miller will soon put the to rights.

I hope your Lordship will not think it presumptuous in me to name Captain Troubridge to you, *as the ablest adviser and best executive officer in His Majesty's naval service, with honour and courage bright as his sword.*

I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

MEMORANDUM.

Ville de Paris, 17th May, 1797.

THE Commander-in-chief desires that the crews of the respective ships under his command may be immediately acquainted, that their letters have been detained at Lisbon for some time, *only* on account of the unreasonable demand of high charge of postage: that the moment he heard of it he applied warmly to the Lords of the Admiralty and to the Postmaster-General to remove every impediment to their correspondence,—and that on the arrival of their letters on board the Ville de Paris they will be sorted, and the moment that this necessary operation is performed, they will be delivered as they have always been hitherto.

J. JERVIS.

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TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 3rd June, 1797.

SIR,

An immense number of letters for the seamen of the fleet under my command being detained in the post-office at Lisbon, for the payment of a very heavy postage charged on them, in addition to what has been paid in England, which latter is, I understand, solely for the support of the English packets, I trust that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty will adopt some means to obtain speedy redress of this hardship upon the poor fellows. I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

MEMORANDUM.

Ville de Paris, 5th June, 1797.

FROM intelligence lately received, the Commander-in-chief thinks it expedient that the launches and barges of the two divisions under Vice-Admiral Thompson and Rear-Admiral Parker, should assemble on board the Theseus between nine and ten o'clock every night, and follow the directions of Rear-Admiral Nelson for their conduct during the night. J. JERVIS.

STANDING MEMORANDUM.

Ville de Paris, 22nd June, 1797.

WHEN at anchor in this position, the whole party of Marines in the respective ships of the fleet are to be kept constantly at drill or parade, under the directions of the commanding Officers of Marines, and not to be diverted

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therefrom by any of the ordinary duties of the ship: sighting the anchor or getting under sail, are the only exceptions which occur to the Commander-in-chief.

J. JERVIS.

MEMORANDUM.—TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 3rd July, 1797.

THE Commander-in-chief having been informed that the people of the squadron were in want of tobacco, he wrote to the Agent victualler to purchase, on his account, all the tobacco he could, for the use of the squadron, with a determination to indemnify the Pursers on account of the high price, and be himself the loser. The Agent victuallers answer is subjoined.

"Sir, I have just received your order, by the Alexander, "to purchase a quantity of tobacco for the fleet, which I "cannot execute, as there is none in this place; nor do "I hear of any being expected; should any be brought to "Gibraltar, you may depend on my executing your orders "with punctuality. Signed (W. VAUGHEN.)"

ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, 4th July, 1797.

MY DEAR NEPEAN,

We have had some awkward sensations in the squadron lately. One, on board the I am assured by Rear-Admiral Nelson is finally settled. The Diadem, spiritedly commanded, has a dirty blackguard crew, who have gone some lengths, but are kept down with a tight hand.

A plan laid on board the St. George on Sunday last to wrest the command of the ship from the officers, (the pre-

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text, a determination that two men condemned to death for sodomy should not be executed on board that ship,) has been frustrated happily, by the timely precaution and manly courage of Captain Peard, ably supported by his Officers, more particularly by Captain Hinde, at the head of his detachment of the 25th Regiment, doing duty in that ship as Marines, who ought to be promoted to a majority immediately. Three ringleaders are confined in the poops of the Ville de Paris and Prince George, and I think there is evidence to convict them of the conspiracy. In the mean time, we are carrying on the most active desultory war against the port and town of Cadiz, to *divert the animal* from these damnable doctrines which letters from England have produced. Very sincerely yours, ST. VINCENT.

TO CAPTAIN SUTTON, H.M.S. EGMONT.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 13th July, 1797.

SIR,

When I communicated to you what had been conveyed to me from the St. George, I told you I did not believe a sentence that had passed relative to the Egmont or Prince George. I am very glad, however, to have seen the indignant and honourable sentiments of your ship's company on the occasion, which confirms the high opinion I have always entertained of them, and of the discipline and good government of the ship; and I shall be proud on all occasions to declare the dependence I have on you, your Officers, and ship's company in the day of battle.

I am, with great regard and esteem, Sir, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

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GENERAL ORDER.

H. M. S. Victory, 6th July, 1797.

EVERY ship in the squadron is to send two boats, with an Officer in each boat, and two marines or soldiers, properly armed, in the stern sheets of each boat, on board H. M. S. St. George at half-past seven o'clock to-morrow (Sunday) morning to attend a punishment.

The sentence is to be carried into execution by the crew of the St. George alone, and no part of the boats' crews of other ships, as is usual on similar occasions, is to assist in this most painful service, in order to mark the high sense the Commander-in-chief entertains of the loyalty, fidelity, and subordination of the rest of the fleet, which he will not fail to make known to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and request them to lay it before The King.

This memorandum to be read to the ships' companies of the fleet before the execution. ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, Sunday, 9th July, 1797.

SIR,

I enclose the sentence and minutes of a court-martial on two seamen, late belonging to His Majesty's ship the St. George. The crime of which they were convicted was of so horrible and detestable a nature, and the times requiring summary punishments, I caused the sentence to be carried into execution at nine o'clock this morning in presence of the whole squadron.

I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

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TO EARL SPENCER.

H. M. S. Ville de Paris, at anchor off Rota,
9th July, 1797.

MY LORD,

The Court-martial on the mutineers of the St. George did not finish before sun-set yesterday, *or they would have been executed last night.* The most daring and profligate of them confessed to the clergyman who attended him, that the plan had been in contemplation six months, in concert with the Britannia, Captain, Diadem, and Egmont; the latter is so highly disciplined and commanded that it would not have succeeded there. Had continued in the Britannia, her myrmidons would have gone the whole length. All the prisoners disavowed any correspondence with the ships in England.

I hope I shall not be censured by the bench of Bishops, as I have been by Vice-Admiral for profaning the Sabbath; the criminals asked five days to prepare, in which they would have hatched five hundred treasons; besides that we are provoking the Spanish fleet to come out by every means in our power; and seven-and-twenty gun and mortar boats did actually advance, dastardly enough it must be confessed, and cannonaded the advanced squadron, now composed of ten sail-of-the-line, on seeing twenty barges and pinnaces go to attend the execution of the sentence. I have the honor to be, &c. ST. VINCENT.

FROM REAR-ADMIRAL NELSON.

Theseus, July 9, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

In the first place, I congratulate you on the finish, as it ought, of the St. George's business, and I (if I may be

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permitted to say so) very much approve of its being so speedily carried into execution, even although it is *Sunday*. The particular situation of the service requires extraordinary measures. I hope this will end all the disorders in our fleet; had there been the same determined spirit at home, I do not believe it would have been half so bad, not but that I think Lord Howe's sending back the first petition was wrong.

Yours most affectionately and gratefully,

HORATIO NELSON.

REAR-ADMIRAL NELSON TO SIR ROBERT CALDER.

Theseus, July 9, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am sorry that you should have to differ with but had it been Christmas Day instead of Sunday I would have executed them.

We know not what might have been hatched by a Sunday's grog; *now* your discipline is safe. I talked to our people, and, I hope, with good effect; indeed, they seem a very quiet set. Ever your most faithful,

HORATIO NELSON.

TO EARL ST. VINCENT.

Admiralty, 22nd September, 1797.

MY LORD,

I am commanded by Lord Spencer to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter, dated 6th July, and to inform your Lordship that it, together with your Lordship's letter to me, dated 9th July, stating that upon the conviction and sentence of death adjudged upon the mutineers of the St. George, your Lordship had ordered the sentence to be executed in front of the whole squadron on

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the following Sunday morning, have been laid before their Lordships; and I have their Lordships' commands to inform your Lordship of their Lordship's very high approbation of your Lordship's conduct on that unpleasant and urgent occasion. I am, &c. EVAN NEPEAN.

TO CAPTAIN DUCKWORTH.

(Secret and confidential.)

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, before Cadiz, 18th July, 1797.

SIR,

Upon receiving accounts by two expresses from Lisbon, on the 16th instant, of the unfortunate turn of affairs in Ireland, of the desertion of a great part of the militia to the rebels, and that the French boasted of having emissaries in all the King's ships and regiments avowed in their gazettes, I assembled the Captains of the Marines of the fleet present, on board the Ville de Paris, and stated to them the policy of holding up the Marines, and separating them as much as possible from the seamen; and to this effect I directed, that in the ships of three decks, they should be berthed in the after part of the middle deck; and of those of two decks, close to the bulkhead of the gun-room, or to the Officer's cabins before it, giving them the two after-berths on each side, from one side of the ship to the other, that they might not be broke in upon; and in roomy ships, whose gunner's crews are not berthed in the cable-tiers, the gunner's mates and crews to be berthed next before them. I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

GENERAL ORDER.—TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 22nd July, 1797.

WHEREAS it appears from the vain conceit and supercilious conduct of young and inexperienced Officers in His

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Majesty's service, that they are not bound to obey the general printed instructions which they receive with their commissions:

I judge it expedient, for the establishment of the discipline and subordination of the Officers of His Majesty's ships under my command, to signify, that I consider every part of the said instructions to be necessary, and in full force, more especially at this awful crisis, and that any failure therein will subject those who offend to all the pains and penalties annexed thereto. ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 26th July, 1797.

SIR,

I enclose minutes of two courts-martial, and the sentences upon men belonging to his Majesty's ships and , and I desire you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I have judged it necessary to carry the latter into execution.

The conduct of Captain Brown in preserving subordination and discipline on board the ship under his command, when in the midst of a mutinous fleet at Spithead, although his people were subject to the continual taunts of surrounding crews; and since, in quelling a seditious and mutinous attempt by most manly and temperate conduct, fills my mind with admiration; and I beg leave to submit to their Lordship's consideration whether some public testimony of approbation should not be given to the Captain and Officers of the Alcmene and to those of the St. George.

I am, &c. ST. VINCENT.

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GENERAL MEMORANDUM.

23rd August, 1797.

ALTHOUGH my order of the 22nd of June, literally taken, expresses that the Marines are to perform garrison duty when at this anchorage, I judge it necessary to extend its influence to all anchorages both abroad and at home; mooring, unmooring, coming to sail, and swaying up topmasts and lower yards, being the only exceptions thereto; and upon these occasions, the Subaltern's guard of the day is by no means to be broken in upon or disturbed.

ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 27th August, 1797.

SIR,

The recent examples made on board the Alcmene and Emerald, with the admonitions I have caused to be delivered, have produced such a salutary effect in His Majesty's fleet under my command, that I think it advisable to delay for the present communicating the contents of your letter of the 5th July, especially as the people I know receive constant accounts in their private letters of the prosecutions carried on against the mutineers, and subsequent executions; and the crews of the Defence and Majestic are brought to a due sense of their duty by the example of other ships.

I am, &c. ST. VINCENT.

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TO VICE-ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES THOMPSON, BART.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 28th August, 1797.

SIR,

Captain Wells, of His Majesty's ship the Defence, having represented to me that George Galway, gunner's mate, and James Barrack, boatswain's mate, of the said ship, came to him yesterday with a message from the ship's company, that it was their desire James Stride, cook of her, should be tried on board that ship; I desire you will take the earliest opportunity to visit the Defence, and inform the ship's company, that I consider their conduct upon this occasion as highly reprehensible, and that they put the lives of their two messengers at hazard by sending them on so seditious an errand, and that it behoves them to be more circumspect in their conduct, and instead of aiding and abetting these murmurings and unworthy suspicions, it is their duty to make discovery of them immediately, concealment of mutiny or sedition being, to all intents and purposes, the same crime as an act of either.

I have the honor to be, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM PARKER.

*Most secret and confidential, not to be divulged to any one now, nor in future, unless necessary to put it in force.**

Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 4th September, 1797.

SIR,

It being necessary to take every precaution against any attempt to delay or defeat carrying the sentence of the Court-martial into execution, on board His Majesty's ship Defence, this morning, I have ordered all the launches in

* This order was not put in force; but has before been published, by Lord St. Vincent's permission.

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the fleet, fitted with carronades, to have them mounted, and to hold them in readiness at a minute's warning; and, should any resistance be made to carry the sentence of the law into execution, of which immediate notice will be given to you, it is my direction that you assume the command of them, taking the Captains of your division in their barges to your assistance, and that you fire into that part of His Majesty's ship, the Defence, where the persons resisting or refusing obedience to lawful commands, may dispose of themselves, and continue your fire until they submit. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 6th September, 1797.

SIR,

I enclose the minutes and sentence of the two Courts-martial held on Michael Redden and James Sullivan, (alias Scully,) seamen belonging to His Majesty's ship the Defence. From the deplorable state of the four ships, which last joined from England, I found it necessary to carry the sentence of death on Michael Redden into prompt execution, and I have caused the instruction of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, dated the 5th July, to be communicated to every ship present, with the addition of another seasonable admonition from myself; and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of their Lordships, that the crews of all the ships of the fleet, which had no concern in the mutinies at home, appear loyal and subordinate, blessing their stars that they were absent when the transaction happened. I am sorry, however, to observe, that there has been a disposition in the Defence, Minotaur, Gibraltar, and Majestic, to make occasional appeals to the people, which I hope the execution of Michael Redden, and the removal of some evil spirits from the Defence, will put a stop to. I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

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TO REAR-ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM PARKER.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 26th Sept. 1797.

SIR,

Captain Digby, of His Majesty's ship the Aurora, having expressed great doubts whether he can bring home the charge against John Watson, who stands in order to be tried by a Court-martial to-morrow morning, owing to the prevarication of a principal witness, I think it for the benefit of His Majesty's service that the order for the trial should be withdrawn, nothing appearing to me more injurious to the discipline of the fleet than a failure of proof, on accusation, for flagrant offences; I therefore desire you will send me back the order for assembling the Court-martial. I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, in the Tagus, 7th November, 1797.

SIR,

I desire you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that a very serious mutiny broke out on board His Majesty's ship the Romulus, at the Island of St. Michael's, in the month of June last, which originated in a communication between Vice-Admiral Waldegrave's squadron and the ships I had placed in the vicinity of the Azores, to protect the homeward-bound Brazil trade, and such British ships as loaded wine at those islands, for the supply of the troops in the West Indies, it never having entered into my imagination that the Vice-Admiral intended to station the most powerful ships under his command in that quarter. Several letters passed between the Latona and Romulus, with much stimulating language from the crew of the former, before the purpose was effected. The

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only letter which fell into the hands of Captain Hope, I enclose.

The mutiny having ended in a compromise, and a pledge from the Captain that no punishment should be inflicted on any of the parties concerned in it, the business is so far out of my hands. Five of the ring-leaders Captain Hope delivered to Captain Collingwood when he joined the squadron before Cadiz, and the rest of the ship's company I have this day distributed between the Prince George and Princess Royal, and discharged an equal number of men, of inferior stature, from those ships (which are fully manned) into the Romulus, a measure I judge highly necessary, to put an end to these daring attempts to carry his Majesty's ships wherever it pleases a few ruffians, who keep the rest in awe and fear. Although Captain Hope's statement of this abominable transaction does not recite a demand that the ship should go immediately to England, it was one, amongst many others, equally injurious to His Majesty's service, which they made. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant. ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, before Cadiz, 29th May, 1798.

SIR,

I desire you will represent to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the highly meritorious conduct of the Officers of His Majesty's ship the Marlborough, down to the Sergeant-of-marines inclusive, during a dangerous excitement of mutiny on board that ship in Beerhaven on the 7th instant; and the judicious behaviour of the First-lieutenant in preventing from compromising this diabolical crime, and urging him to bring the ring-leader to condign punishment. And I also beg leave to call their Lordships' attention to the evidence of Mr. Samuel

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Simpson, boatswain, and Mr. John Langdon, Master's-mate of the Marlborough, both of whom I will promote when in my power, submitting to their Lordships the reward due to Lieutenant John Jones.

I am, Sir, &c. St. VINCENT.

TO CAPTAIN CAMPBELL, BLENHEIM.

SIR,

Whereas, it appears, by the minutes of a Court-martial, held on board His Majesty's ship the Prince, yesterday, that there is a considerable degree of insubordination on board His Majesty's ship the Marlborough; and it being of the utmost importance at this critical juncture that the awful sentence of the Court-martial should be carried into execution, and with all the solemnity and precision requisite to produce a proper effect upon the minds of the crews of His Majesty's ships under my command; you are hereby required and directed to take upon you the command of the armed launches and other boats of the squadron appointed to attend upon the occasion, and you are to support the Captain and Officers of the Marlborough in the discharge of their duty, even to firing into the ship in case of manifest resistance being made to carry the law into execution until all resistance ceases; at the same time, avoiding every appearance of distrust until you are called upon by actual show of opposition to the lawful commands which I have given to Captain Ellison of the Marlborough.

ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 30th May, 1798.

SIR,

It is with the deepest concern I acquaint you, that on the junction of the squadron under the orders of Rear-

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Admiral Sir Roger Curtis, application was made from the Marlborough, Lion, and Centaur, for Courts-martial. The sentence and minutes of that held on a seaman of the Marlborough are enclosed; and I found it absolutely necessary to direct prompt execution, to stop the contagion of so large an importation of sedition and mutiny at one time. I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, before Cadiz, 4th July, 1798.

SIR,

I enclose the minutes and sentence of a Court-martial assembled to try Michael Connell, able seaman; Daniel Sweeny, gunsmith; and Thomas Bott, (alias Batt,) landsman, of the Princess Royal, for mutiny of the most atrocious nature; and I beg leave to call the attention of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to the page (No. 11) of the minutes which gives one, of many, damning proofs that the discipline and subordination of the Navy was sapped to the foundation by the Grenville Act, (framed "*ad captandum vulgus*,") which transferred the command of the fleet from the Officers, to whores, landlords, crimps, and, lastly, to United Irishmen. This is not a new opinion, for Admiral Barrington, and all Officers of his excellent description will bear me testimony, that I never held any other upon the subject; and unless that fatal Act is repealed, and another, of very different nature substituted, the British Navy is no more.

I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

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TO ADMIRAL SIR H. NELSON.

(Most secret and confidential.)

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, 5th July, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR,

The oath of the United Irishmen has been introduced into the Princess Royal by an artful fellow, who suffered death yesterday with two others; a fourth is to be tried to-day, and a fifth on Monday, who will, I believe, be sentenced to suffer death, and, consequently, executed. I have distributed about eighteen other miscreants amongst nine of the best ordered ships here, with orders for them to be kept on the poop constantly, and have no communication with the people. The Princess Royal has been very ill attended to below the Quarter-deck; and the abominable licentiousness, and total dereliction of all my maxims and principles while she was at Gibraltar, gave an opening for this mischief. Bott, the person who conducted it, made some atonement by a full confession. The officers were to have been massacred, and if the ships from Ireland, with the London and Hecla, had joined, I was to have been hung, with the other Admirals, Captains, and Officers. The plan afterwards was, to go up and revolutionize your squadron, and then proceed to Ireland.

I am yours affectionately, ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, before Cadiz, 9th July, 1798.

SIR,

I enclose for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the confession of Richard Jones,

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late belonging to the Princess Royal, whose sentence, with the minutes of his trial, was sent in my letter of the 7th, and the very sensible observations of Rear-Admiral Sir John Orde, in the accompanying letter; and I beg leave to submit to their Lordships what would have been the state of the Princess Royal, had not I authorized Captain Draper to draft the most profligate characters he could find in the ship, and discharge them into the Romulus, in lieu of an equal number of men turned over from that ship into the Princess Royal.

I am Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

MEMORANDUM.

4th July, 1798.

DISTRIBUTIONS of the mutineers from the Princess Royal, to be kept constantly on the poop, (not in irons,) to eat and drink there, and to have no communication with the respective ships' companies. ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, 6th July, 1798.

SIR,

The United Irishmen serving in this fleet having, with their usual acuteness, ascertained the drift of the orders I have lately given touching the employ of the Marines when the ships are at anchor, and endeavoured to counteract them, by persuading the Marines that there ought to be no distinction made, and some of the Captains having shown a repugnance on receiving the order, likely to be productive of remissness in the execution, I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Flight to superintend the business, and to correct any errors he might observe, and a newly arrived

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Captain, from whom I little expected such conduct, having threatened him in the performance of this important duty, I have found it absolutely necessary to appoint him inspector of Marines in the fleet I have the honour to command. I enclose a copy of the public order given on this occasion, and of those before issued, for the employment of Marines while at this anchorage.

I am, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, 21st August, 1798.

SIR,

I desire you will represent to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, after a strict examination into the state of the different detachments of Marines serving in His Majesty's ships under my command, I have found it absolutely necessary to augment the number of Non-commissioned officers, by which means, I have the utmost confidence, they will continue in the same high discipline and good order which now happily obtain, and that they may be relied on in case of any further attempt being made by the seditious to wrest the command of His Majesty's ships from the Officers.

The proportion I have established is four sergeants and an equal number of corporals to 100 privates, which, in my judgment, ought to be the complement of every ship of 74 guns. I am, &c. ST. VINCENT.

STANDING MEMORANDUM.

H. M. S. Ville de Paris, 27th August, 1798.

THE Commander-in-chief having, with astonishment, seen an Officer of rank commit a breach of his order of the 6th

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August, 1796, which prohibits any communication with a ship joining the fleet until her Captain has made his report to the Admiral, finds it necessary to repeat that order, and to add, that he requires a strict obedience thereto.

"It is the Admiral's order, that when a ship-of-war is coming to join, or going to leave the fleet, no boat is sent to her without permission from the Ville de Paris; and when the signal has been made for a ship going into port, all letters, &c., are to be brought, without loss of time, to the Ville de Paris, from whence they will be carefully forwarded."

ST. VINCENT.

GENERAL ORDER.

Ville de Paris, 16th August, 1798.

THE Commander-in-chief judges it necessary to apprise the Warrant and Petty-officers of H. M. S. Marlborough, that they will lose the high ground they stand on with him, if they do not exert themselves, with vigilance and activity, to prevent drunkenness among the people; and whenever any of the men appear to have more than their allowance of wine before them, it ought immediately to be seized, and a strict investigation made; and upon proof that there has been any collusive means used for one man to drink the allowance of another as well as his own, exemplary punishment should be inflicted *on both*, and their wine from that day forward mixed with equal quantity of water, to the end of the chapter.

This admonition to be read to the crew of every ship in the squadron.

ST. VINCENT.

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GENERAL ORDER.

Ville de Paris, 25th September, 1798.

THE following sentence of a Court-martial, and the order from the Commander-in-chief in consequence, are to be read to the Officers and crews of every ship in the fleet.

ST. VINCENT.

COPY OF THE SENTENCE.

At a Court-martial held on board H. M. S. the Prince yesterday, for the trial of Thomas Scott, belonging to H. M. S. the Prince, for deserting from H. M. S. Queen Charlotte, and having heard the evidence produced in support of the charge, and what the prisoner had to allege in his defence, and having maturely and deliberately weighed and considered the whole, the Court is of opinion that the charge of desertion from the Queen Charlotte has been proved against the prisoner; but, in consideration of the whole circumstances of the case, and the good character given him, and his former meritorious conduct, the Court doth only adjudge him to receive eighty lashes upon his bare back with a cat-of-nine-tails, alongside such ships of the fleet, at such time, and in such proportions, as the Commander-in-chief shall direct, and the said Thomas Scott is hereby adjudged to receive eighty lashes upon his bare back with a cat-of-nine-tails, as aforesaid, accordingly.

(Signed by the Court.)

TO CAPTAIN LARCOM, H. M. S. PRINCE.

25th September, 1798.

SIR,

Having read the minutes and sentence of the Court-martial held yesterday for the trial of Thomas Scott, on a charge of desertion from H. M. S. Queen Charlotte, with

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attention, and remarked that the prisoner called upon Lieutenant M^cJarland of the Prince, formerly of the Queen Charlotte, to prove his meritorious conduct in endeavouring to influence the ships' company of the Mars to return to their duty, during a late unhappy occasion, and considering, as I do, that any man in His Majesty's naval service who supports his Officers in times of sedition, brought about by the wicked acts of French emissaries, or who exerts himself in any other way, to prevent such diabolical designs being carried into execution, deserves well of his Country, I feel it my duty to exercise the power I am invested with to remit the punishment, justly awarded by the sentence of the Court-martial for a very heinous offence, trusting that this act of clemency will be productive of the best effect, not only as it marks the sense I, and every officer in His Majesty's fleet, entertain of the virtue of a seaman who shows himself steadily averse to mutiny, but the encouragement it gives to seamen to confide in their Officers upon all occasions; and that if, on the abominable practices of masters of vessels in enticing them to desert, they take the first opportunity to return to their duty, and show contrition for the atrocious offence they have committed, they are sure to meet with lenity and protection.

Upon these considerations, you are hereby authorized to restore Thomas Scott to his duty, and enter him for wages on the books of His Majesty's Ship under your command from the date of his being impressed at Lisbon, causing the copy of his sentence herewith sent, and this order, to be publicly read to the company of H. M. S. the Prince.

ST. VINCENT.

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CHAPTER X.

Despatch of Sir Horatio Nelson against the French Expedition from Toulon.—Conveyance to Spain of Pope Pius VI.—Capture of Minorca.—Repair of the British ships, from the Battle of the Nile.—Illness of Lord St. Vincent.—Construction of Tanks at Gibraltar.—French Fleet enters the Mediterranean.—Lord St. Vincent recals Lord Keith from Cadiz, and follows them.—Dangerous illness of Lord St. Vincent. — His resignation of the command, and return to England.

THE arrangement which collected what is offered about the Mutiny into one separate and continuous statement, has so far done injustice to the Commander-in-chief of the fleet in which it happened, as that, to some, it may seem to say, these events all following closely upon each other, were in the fleet before Cadiz, as they were at the Nore and Spithead, of such overpowering effect, as to paralyze the efficiency of the force; though obedience and discipline were in the end restored, yet, not till after a long period, was Lord St. Vincent's a perfectly serviceable fleet.

But the very reverse was the fact,—and is perhaps that one which most redounds to Lord St. Vincent's fame. Never was any duty, not to say obstructed, but not for a moment interrupted; the armed launches which supported the authority of

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the law, were, before they could be again hoisted in, signalled away to defeat the hostile gun-boats; the ships selected because most mutinous, to compose the reinforcements, were instantly placed in the front of the blockade, joining the in-shore squadron.

Therefore, now that the attempt is resumed to trace an outline of Lord St. Vincent's proceedings, the thread is taken up at the spring of 1798; with recollection that, though the disposition to mutiny was profuse throughout the fleet, and though the outbreaks were frequent, and violent of their kind, yet were they only occurrences at intervals, and were isolated, because instantly suppressed from extending beyond the individual ships.

Before the Spanish fleet, which had dismantled for the winter, was again ready for service, Lord St. Vincent, with his whole force, had returned from Lisbon to his anchorage at Rota, but the enemy, though with increased superiority in numbers, made no attempt to give battle, or raise the blockade,—sometimes they did cross their royal yards, and unmoor; twice they took in their water for sea; but there, all signs of intention to move ceased. Bearing in mind, therefore, that all through the year 1798 the presence of the British completely paralysed the Spanish fleet, attention will for the time depart from the dull unvarying duties of an unopposed blockade, to the part which Lord St. Vincent bore in two other more stirring occurrences of the year: the despatch of Sir Horatio Nelson against the Toulon fleet, and the capture of the Island of Minorca.

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The object with which France was collecting a large combined force in a southern port, had for some time been a source of the most serious anxiety to the British Cabinet, but the secrecy of the Directory was admirably impenetrable. Lord St. Vincent had been requested to probe the design. He also saw, that to defeat the enemy's intentions the presence of British naval force in the Mediterranean had again become necessary. The important question was, who should be entrusted with the command?

The fleet before Cadiz then contained three subordinate Flag officers; but, on the deep responsibility for his conduct, on an occasion on which, to use the words of Lord Spencer of it, "the fate of Europe may be stated to depend," Lord St. Vincent thought that the junior of his Admirals, Sir Horatio Nelson, was the Officer the Country then required; and such being his Lordship's opinion, the odium he foresaw did not deter him from doing also his duty to his Country by selecting "Her choicest though younger son." That hero had just rejoined the fleet from England, whither he went after the loss of his arm at Teneriffe; and on the 2nd May (dates are now important) Lord St. Vincent despatched him with a force up the Straits, ostensibly to protect trade, but with further orders to watch the enemy in Toulon.

Not less true is it, that, uninformed of the step which Lord St. Vincent had taken, Lord Spencer, by letter dated 29th April, pointed out the same hero for that service; for the British Cabinet had,

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meanwhile, determined, that to the fleet before Cadiz should be intrusted the resistance to the enemy's expedition, whithersoever it might tend; and the Admiralty had been instructed accordingly.

It appears by the orders, to which reference has been made, and by letters which will appear, that the first instructions to Lord St. Vincent left it to "his Lordship's discretion either, so soon as he was reinforced, to detach a portion of his fleet to the Mediterranean, or himself to conduct his whole force thither;" and in his letter, dated 29th April, 1798, to the Commander-in-chief, Lord Spencer said, "If you determine to send a detachment, I think it almost unnecessary to suggest to you the propriety of putting it under the command of Sir H. Nelson, whose acquaintance with that part of the world, as well as his activity and disposition, seem to qualify him in a peculiar manner for that service;" but, three days afterwards the discretionary power was revoked; and Lord St. Vincent was commanded "to despatch some discreet Flag-officer, so soon as Sir Roger Curtis had joined;" his Lordship being directed "to continue himself with the rest of his squadron, in execution of the more important services committed to his care."

It therefore is certain, that letters from Lords St. Vincent and Spencer to each other, each originally selecting the same Officer, crossed on the Ocean.

But a debt of justice is due to the former Viceroy of Corsica, the late Earl Minto; nor can it disparage Lord Spencer's upright administration of

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the Navy, especially in the selection of Officers, to state, that among the voices which were as yet heard in England calling for Nelson, Lord Minto's was assuredly among the earliest. The following extract from a letter, reference being had to its date, proves it.

TO SIR HORATIO NELSON.

Roehampton, 25th April, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR,

I took a step yesterday, which perhaps I ought not to have hazarded without authority; but I took care to leave the responsibility on myself, by declaring in the strongest manner, that I neither had nor could have any instructions or authority from you on the occasion. Having had reason to believe that Government were at last thinking seriously of the Mediterranean, I went to Lord Spencer, and told him that I could not refrain from suggesting what had probably occurred to himself, that you were the fittest man in the world for that command. I told him that I took this liberty with the less scruple, as I was better acquainted with some of your qualifications for such a service than he or most other men could have had an opportunity of being. That every body knew you as an Officer, and his Lordship was probably apprised that you were as well acquainted with the Mediterranean as he was with the room we were sitting in; but that I had had the best opportunities of knowing other points which qualified you particularly for the command in that sea; that you had proved yourself quick and sharp with the enemy, where you had just cause of offence; but that, on the other hand, you possessed the spirit of conciliation with all friendly or neutral powers, in a no less remarkable degree. That if your name was dreaded by the enemy, it inspired confidence in all others, and that you were thoroughly exercised in that communication with the different Courts and

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Powers in the Mediterranean, which must always be one of the most important branches of the duty committed to the *Commander of a squadron* in that sea. I added, also, that your disposition to consult confidentially, and to act in concert and harmony, with those on shore, had been conspicuous on every occasion, and had contributed in a very eminent degree, to the good of the service, and to my own unspeakable comfort in the constant intercourse between us, which our duty had required during my service abroad. Lord Spencer said, that if the measure I attended to were taken, he might venture to assure me, there was no chance of any other person being thought of for the command, and that your name would certainly have been the first that would have occurred to himself. That there could be the less doubt of your being appointed, as it would naturally be left to Lord St. Vincent to name the Officer, and that I knew his high opinion of you; he added, however, that in writing to Lord St. Vincent on the subject, while he left the nomination to him, he should express his own opinion, and that of Government, that you are the proper man. Our conversation ran into greater length than I need relate; what I have already said was the most material. It is right to say, however, that the measure itself does not appear to me thoroughly determined on, and that the greatest degree of secrecy seems, at all events, essential on this subject. Twelve sail-of-the-line, I understand, are thought of for this squadron; but I have not this from Lord Spencer. The immediate object would be to encourage and assist Naples in resisting the impending attack; but it is feared, and not without reason, that here, as on so many other occasions, our aid will come too late. However, we should still do what is possible while a chance of good remains. Independent of this particular object, I believe Government feels now the propriety of checking the enemy's maritime dominion in the Mediterranean, and not leaving the whole of that great world

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entirely at the mercy of France, and of all her extraordinary, or, if you please, extravagant views. Whether twelve ships will enable you to keep them at home, or to find work for them there, you are a better judge than me. In the mean while, I own I wish most anxiously to see the twelve ships fairly under your command.

Lord Spencer, at the close of the conversation, thanked me for mentioning this subject, though his opinion was already exactly the same with mine (I mean in what relates to you), and said he should be very glad to receive any other suggestion I might think useful on a matter on which he supposed me likely to be well informed. In consequence of this encouragement, I wrote to him the same evening to recommend the employment of two bomb-ketches in this squadron, and I said I knew that you thought this a material point, and that the reasons for it appeared to me stronger now than ever. I also recommended as great a proportion of Marines or troops as possible, as the want of friendly ports might make it necessary to land occasionally (for water, and other purposes), when some force might be requisite. I am conscious that in taking so much on myself on so delicate a point, I hazarded a good deal; but you will at least discover two motives, neither of which I trust you will disapprove of: first, a sincere zeal for the public service, especially in that quarter; and, secondly, an anxious concern in all that relates to the honours, fortunes, or wishes of one who, I hope, will let me call him friend as long as we both live. I need not say how confidential this letter is: but I never wish to have any secrets from Lord St. Vincent, and you will therefore do what you think proper in communicating to him what I have written.* I fear that vile, unaccountable *palsy* in the *fingers and thumb of my right hand*, with which you know I have been afflicted since my return to

* The letter itself was sent by Sir Horatio Nelson to Lord St. Vincent.

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England, has sunk me many pegs in the esteem of Lord St. Vincent, and probably has deprived me of a portion of that regard which was one of my greatest prides. However, I shall hope to regain that ground, the loss of which I must, no doubt, seem to have deserved, but have not really merited by any inconstancy in my own sentiments towards him. If you can throw in a saving word or two for me in that quarter, you will do me a great kindness.

Believe me ever, my dear Sir,

Your most affectionate and faithful MINTO.

But by whomsoever the happy selection was made, the appointment at the time occasioned to Lord St. Vincent a world of enmity, vexation, and annoyance, the more unpleasant to meet, and trying to bear, because the disappointed were, seemingly, supported by some well-known rules, which, though they can never be admitted to be paramount, yet were considered to be generally customary, in the Naval service. Nor can it be yet entirely forgotten, that when Sir Horatio Nelson, not having already "attained that fame which compels envy to be silent," missed the French fleet, discontent with this selection extended far beyond Cadiz Bay, and was manifest and audible, even in England.

This it was which made the misunderstandings between Lord St. Vincent and Vice-Admiral Sir John Orde to overflow. Before the preference to Sir Horatio Nelson, upon circumstances arising out of an order for only "Lieutenants of approved firmness" to be sent in command of the launches rowing night-guard upon Cadiz, which his Lordship issued after the enemy in a sortie had captured the St. George's launch; and after that, in consequence of a

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mistake which Lord St. Vincent had made and formally apologised for to Sir John Orde, in supposing that a severely rebuked letter from another Officer in the fleet had come from Sir John himself, there had been much acrimony and official dispute between these gallant Officers; but, upon the passing over Sir John, and selecting the junior Flag-officer for the Mediterranean station, Sir John wrote to Lord Spencer, an, of course ineffectual, appeal.

From this matters proceeded still worse, until Lord St. Vincent determined to rid his fleet of Sir John Orde's presence, and ordered him to proceed to England in the Blenheim. On the receipt of this command, Sir John tendered a written remonstrance, a copy of which it is not in my power to present, but the following reply was made by Lord St. Vincent to it.

TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN ORDE.

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated off Cadiz, 3rd August, expressed in terms of insubordination, that even in these times I did not expect to receive from an Officer of your rank.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant, ST. VINCENT.

In obedience to his orders, Sir John proceeded to Spithead, duly reporting himself to the Admiralty, with the cause of his arrival, and there for a time a lull ensued to the unseemly discord between the two Admirals.

But any attempt to uphold this as a wise exercise by Lord St. Vincent of the discretionary power reposed in him, would be infinitely

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more disparaging to the writer's candour or judgment, than the act itself derogates from his Lordship's excellence as a Commander. That which is to be admired relating to this occurrence, is the dignified letter by which Lord Spencer, through the Secretary, discountenanced the over-stretching step.

TO EARL ST. VINCENT.

Admiralty, 13th October, 1798.

MY LORD,

I have received and communicated to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 30th August, acquainting me, for their Lordship's information, "that "Rear-Admiral Sir John Orde having very much inter-"rupted you in the discharge of your public duty, by "attempts to force you into a correspondence of a nature "highly derogatory to the discipline and subordination of "His Majesty's navy, and the state of the Blenheim re-"quiring that she should be in an English port before the "approach of winter, you had directed the Rear-Admiral "to proceed in that ship to Lisbon, and thence to Eng-"land," under the orders therein referred to.

I have their Lordships' command to acquaint your Lordship, in answer thereto, that they can by no means approve of your having sent home Sir John Orde, as the reasons given by you for so doing do not appear sufficient to justify the sending a flag-officer to England, it being at all times in your Lordship's power to put a stop to any correspondence which you might think to be improper; they are therefore pleased to direct that you do not in future send home any Flag-officer that may be under your command without receiving instructions from their Lordships so to do, unless some very strong and some very peculiar circumstance should make it absolutely necessary.

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His Majesty's ship Blenheim arrived in the Downs with her convoy yesterday, previously to which their Lordships had received complaints from Sir John Orde of his having been treated by your Lordship in a manner unsuitable to his rank and situation in the fleet, and desiring that your Lordship might be brought to a Court-martial. This request, however, their Lordships have not thought fit to comply with, and have directed me to assure you of their determination to support your Lordship in the fullest manner in every proper exercise of your authority, not doubting that you will see the necessity of showing every proper degree of attention, and of giving every proper degree of support to the flag-officers serving under your orders, that that regular chain of command and obedience, of superiority and subordination, may be perfectly preserved through all ranks, without which it is impossible that true discipline can exist.

I have the honour to be, &c. EVAN NEPEAN.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Le Souverain, Gibraltar, 5th December, 1798.

SIR,

I submit to the rebuke the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have thought fit to convey to me for sending Rear-Admiral Sir John Orde to England without their Lordships' authority to do so; but my pride of character is very much wounded by the censure contained in the latter part of your letter of the 18th October, denying positively, as I do, having ever treated him, or any other Officer under my command improperly, even when there were meetings and combinations to resist the regulations I found it absolutely necessary to make, to preserve his Majesty's fleet, under my command, from the disgrace which it has suffered in other regions; and I am bold to affirm, that nothing

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short of the measures I have taken could have succeeded; I therefore desire you will state to their Lordships the extreme injury my reputation suffers by a sentence passed upon me without being heard in my defence. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, ST. VINCENT.

A late historian,* speaking of the French Expedition to Egypt, has recorded as his opinion, "that it was scarcely creditable to the Administration of the day to have sent against the formidable flotilla of the enemy, ships of so small a size as those under Lord Nelson." Now, the Administration of the day, that is to say on naval details, Lord Spencer and his Board of Admiralty, had nothing whatever to do with that selection; it was solely Lord St. Vincent's. Sir Horatio Nelson, with three sail-of-the-line, was already inside Gibraltar, and the in-shore squadron, ten sail-of-the-line, under Captain Troubridge, was the reinforcement to complete the "chosen band." As became the *élite* of a highly disciplined fleet, they kept themselves ready to proceed to sea, literally at sight of the signal; their water was filled up even twice a-day; and, to resort to the elegant language and high authority of the gallant Sir Edward Berry,—

"It was only characteristic of the general tenour of Lord St. Vincent's command that every ship destined to compose the squadron of reinforcement was ready to put to sea from Cadiz Bay at a moment's notice; and it is a fact worthy of permanent record, as illustrative of the energy and ac-

* Hughes in his History of England.

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tivity of British seamen, that as soon as Sir Roger Curtis, with the squadron under his command, was visible from the mast-head of the Admiral's ship, Captain Troubridge and his squadron put to sea, and were actually out of sight, on their way to Gibraltar, before the former cast an anchor on the British station off Cadiz." At the in-shore squadron's departure, narrative of their proceedings must pause; their history is already on "pages recording the actions of the greatest naval hero that ever existed;" besides, who is there now that needs be told how gloriously they at the Nile approved the judgment which conferred upon them the honour of precedence?

The expedition against the island of Minorca was at the suggestion of Lord St. Vincent, whose advice thus happened to be requested.

The ministerial policy in the conduct of the war had collected a large body of troops at Lisbon, under General Sir Charles Stuart; and there at that moment they lay in very costly inactivity. Reflection on the advantage to the country which ought to result from so fine a force, continually pressing upon the Cabinet, without suggesting a worthy object, the Secretary of war, Mr. Dundas, addressed to Lord St. Vincent the letter, which, with his Lordship's reply, follows:—

TO EARL ST. VINCENT.

Wimbledon, 26th May, 1798.

MY DEAR LORD,

You will understand this letter is wrote to you neither officially nor to be answered as such. It distresses me

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much to see the best body of troops we have, in a state of idleness and inactivity, and without a prospect of their being otherwise; I mean the troops in Portugal. Look around you in the quarters of the world where you now are, and answer me, whether you think they could, in conjunction with a detachment of the fleet under your command, be employed anywhere with splendour, effect, and enterprize. I remain, my dear Lord, with great regard, your most obedient and faithful servant,

HENRY DUNDAS.

TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

Ville de Paris, before Cadiz, 3rd July, 1798.

SIR,

I am this instant honoured with your letter of the 26th May, by l'Aigle. Taking possession of the island of Minorca is an object of great facility; to maintain it afterwards will require the constant protection of a squadron.

The destruction of Carthagena is attainable by the troops in question; to mask this design, they ought to proceed to Aristan Bay, in the island of Sardinia, and there be joined by Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, with whom I can readily concert either operation, and he will have finished the French armada long before I can receive your answer.

The loss of General Charles Stuart, whom I believe to be by far the best Lieutenant-General you have, is not to be repaired. Brigadier Villettes is, I fear, too low in rank to command such a body of troops, although the father of Mr. Pitt did not think so.

For the last named operation, a few light pieces of field-artillery will only be wanting, and the troops should not be encumbered with baggage nor camp-equipage. I have the honour to be, with the truest esteem and regard, Sir, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

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The assault on Minorca being determined on, Lord St. Vincent repaired to Gibraltar to superintend the equipment of the expedition. His Lordship, however, must not be accompanied to the fortress before mention is made of a remarkable flag of truce, which, meanwhile, had passed between the two hostile fleets.

The year 1798 is memorable in ecclesiastical history as the period when Popery was so formidably assailed by the doctrines and armies of apostatized France, that, in the language of the eloquent historian,* "even sagacious observers thought that at length the hour of the Church of Rome was come." At this crisis to her religion Spain, ever, excepting Ireland, the most faithful votary to Her creed, though at the imminent risk of a fatal war with the infidel assailants of Christianity, offered an asylum to the head of the Roman Catholic Church, that excellent pope, Pius VI. But great as was the honour which this shed over Spain, scarcely less was the compliment which it compelled the enemy to pay to the British fleet under Lord St. Vincent's flag. The Spanish navy on the station within the range of his Lordship's command very nearly tripled the British force, for Lord Keith with his reinforcements had not yet joined; notwithstanding such disparity, the following correspondence took place between the hostile Commanders-in-chief.

* Right Hon. Thomas Babington Macaulay.

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TO EARL ST. VINCENT.

Purissima Conception, Cadiz, 11th June, 1798.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that I am ordered by the King, my master, to communicate to you, that His Majesty hath determined that His Holiness, Pope Pius the Sixth, shall come into Spain; that he means to send to Italy one ship-of-the-line, a frigate, and a smaller armed vessel, which will sail from Carthagena, for the purpose of conveying His Holiness in a suitable manner; and, in his Royal name, I am directed to solicit of your Excellency a safe passport for this division of ships, that, during their voyage upon this business, they may not be molested in going or coming by any of his Britannic Majesty's forces; and I am also to agree with your Excellency respecting the proper signals to be made, in case of their meeting by night or by day. It appears to me that the first principle to be fixed upon is, that the said Spanish ships, during their commission and voyage in going and coming from Carthagena to Leghorn, or any other port of Italy, shall not be allowed to commit any hostile act against his Britannic Majesty's ships of war, or English merchantmen, on any account or in any manner whatever. The signal for making themselves known may be this: the commanders of the Spanish division, or the captains of either of the ships, in case of separation, shall, on seeing his Britannic Majesty's forces approaching at a distance, wait their coming up to him, hoisting, at the same time, a flag of truce at the fore-topmast head, and approximating towards each other, that the Spanish commander may show the passport granted by your Excellency. With respect to night-time, though it may not be possible to prevent a momentary attack from the party who may not know that

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this should not happen, yet your Excellency may point out and fix upon the line of conduct which may be observed in order to prevent it. If your Excellency will adopt these measures, it is necessary that the passport shall be triplicate, one for each ship, for fear of separation.

Having informed your Excellency of this business, I wait for your answer, which I shall transmit to the King my Master; and I hope that you will be pleased to concur with His Majesty's intentions, and second his wishes, in causing that the voyage of His Holiness may be free from any hostile molestation. I repeat to your Excellency my highest consideration and esteem, and sincere desire to render you any service. God guard you many years!

Your Excellency's most obedient servant, &c. &c.

JOSEPH DE MAZZAREDO.

TO DON JOSEPH DE MAZZAREDO.

Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 11th June, 1798.

SIR,

I am honoured with your Excellency's letter of this date, and shall be proud to assist in the execution of the pious designs of His Catholic Majesty in respect to His Holiness the Pope. I not only will furnish the necessary passports, but will direct Rear-Admiral Nelson to give a powerful escort to the Spanish ships of war destined for this service.

I will thank your Excellency to put the nautical terms relative to the signals proper to be observed on this important occasion into French, as we are all very ignorant of those in Spanish. Perhaps it would be asking too much to permit Mr. Archdecken to purchase and send off to me a nautical dictionary in the Spanish language, which would greatly facilitate the correspondence I am so frequently

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honoured with. I have the honour to be, with great esteem and regard, Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant, ST. VINCENT.

P.S. — When your Excellency shall favour me with the names of the ships and their commanders, I will transmit you the signal to be adopted by night, with the passports.

Lord St. Vincent arrived at Gibraltar in October; and the naval force for the expedition to Minorca being placed under Commodore Duckworth, the preparations proceeded rapidly, and, ostensibly, for an enterprise in some very distant region; a general impression being encouraged that the East-Indies was its destiny.

The troops under Sir Charles Stuart having arrived at the Rock, the squadron being equipped and the provisions and stores being, with much exertion, all conveyed on board the transports, at ten o'clock in the evening previous to the Expedition's intended departure, the Agent-victualler * waited upon Lord St. Vincent, then residing at Head-quarters with General O'Hara, and having reported that everything in his department was finished, was permitted to retire to rest in his house in Rosier Bay.

But scarcely was he gone when the Town-major arrived, to inform the General that a Spanish spy from St. Roque had been discovered in the garrison, trying to ascertain the destination of the Expedition, and chiefly for what length of voyage it was victualled: the Major, therefore, prayed instructions how the Spaniard should be dealt with.

* The Author's father.

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The General's first impulse was, to have him seized and imprisoned. But the Admiral immediately exclaimed, "Do not, my dear General, for the world, disturb him. Let him alone, to go to whatever part of the garrison he wishes. It will be indeed hard if you and I do not only prove ourselves a match for a Spanish spy, but do not turn his visit to our good account:" and while so saying he rang the bell, — then begged that a messenger might be sent to recal the Agent-victualler forthwith. The General, wondering what was to result, assented, merely saying, "My Lord, you will be the death of that poor man!" — "No, no," said his lordship, "work does him good; he will thrive on it."

An orderly sergeant, despatched in great haste, found the Agent-victualler in bed, tired out by a hard day's work. But he was not long to rest, for the sharp tap at his bed-room window, which was on the ground-floor, and an intimation from the sergeant that the Commander-in-chief wanted him immediately, roused him. "You must be mistaken!" said Mr. Tucker, "for I have not long left his Lordship." — "No, Sir," replied the sergeant; "there is no mistake, Sir, for I have hastened as fast as my legs could carry me, to desire that you will return immediately, on business of importance."

Speedily retracing his steps to the Convent, Mr. Tucker found the Admiral and the General at the table, without their coats, in close conference. "Mr. Tucker," said Lord St. Vincent to him as he entered, "I have been considering much the service which is to be performed by the Expedition

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which is to sail to-morrow, and I doubt whether the supply of twelve months' provisions which we have given will be sufficient; I am therefore anxious to increase it to eighteen months."

"My Lord," replied the Agent, "we have not enough left in the stores to do so; they are nearly cleared out."

"Very true; but let us hear what expedients you can suggest, Mr. Tucker, and see what your resources are."

The Agent-victualler replied, that there was in the bay a vessel laden with flour; that some sugar, raisins, and rice might probably be purchased on the Rock, which, with the remains of wine and biscuit in the naval stores, and a supply of peas and pork from the Commissariat, might, by a little management, accomplish his Lordship's wishes.

"Very good, Sir! Let it be done the first thing in the morning."

"I shall be ready to issue all we have in hand at day-break, if your Lordship will afford me a strong working party to assist in delivering them. Your Lordship is aware I have no labourers."

"You cannot have either man or boat from the squadron, Sir, for all will be engaged in embarking the troops and military stores."

"Well then, my Lord, I must hope for a little assistance from the General, and trust to the Jews."

"The Jews! What do you mean by the Jews, Sir?"

"Why, my Lord, there are great numbers of that nation daily employed by the merchants in shipping

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and landing their goods. They all live in nearly the same quarter of the town; and if the General will lend us an officer and a few soldiers to enforce the help of the Israelites, I propose to lay them under contribution to the public service."

The General, exceedingly amused, readily assented; and the Chief was so delighted with the idea, that he "declared all Judea should be at the Agent's disposal if he wished it."

The difficulty being thus got over, Mr. Tucker had only to request that the boats might be ready to receive the provisions as they were conveyed from the stores to the water-side; for his Lordship would recollect that the Victualling-officer was limited to a small four-oared cutter, allowed for the Agent's duties afloat.

"I have before told you, Sir, that the services of the boats are already appropriated; so make another draft on your resources, Mr. Tucker."

"Well, then, my Lord, as it seems I am to get nothing from your Lordship, I must look again to the General, who possibly can assist me with boats from the garrison."

General O'Hara professed willingness, but, unfortunately, every boat under his command was equally under requisition for embarking the stores, ammunition and baggage.

"Try again, Mr. Tucker, — try again," said the Chief.

"Will the General, then, afford me another Officer and a Guard?"

That, the General said, he would willingly do:

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and Mr. Tucker explained that this military force should be before day-break at the Sally Port, awaiting the rush of merchant-boatmen, who, on the opening of that gate, ran to their labours; and that, as soon as there were two men in each barcazo, the military should advance and detain them and their boats.

All this being sanctioned, at half an hour before daybreak a wondering Major appeared at the Agent-victualler's office, to announce himself with two companies, under the strange orders "to obey the Agent's instructions," which he begged to receive. By daylight Jews, boatmen, and barcazoes were all in detention, collected under duresse: and all nations, and tongues, and languages in an uproar of indignation, and vows of vengeance for this unprecedented invasion of their rights and liberty; but particularly against the Admiral were their din and ire vented, who, they protested, should be made to pay for this.

At the first lull to vociferation the Agent-victualler took advantage of it, to assure them that they would all be liberally paid for what was exacted; but that the orders on him being peremptory, and his power, as they might perceive, ample, excuses were unavailing, and that they might as well buckle-to with a good grace.

Convinced by the presence of the bayonet that comply they must, the Hebrews then became clamorous to get the job done, and backed the provisions down like beasts of burden; while the prospect of government dollars, operating like magic on the

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"Jews of *both* Testaments," to use Lord St. Vincent's oft expression, the whole proceeded in right earnest.

The Agent-victualler was of good need busy; for, with the muleteer in the comedy, defending himself before the Mr. Martin of Granada, he might have said, "Señor, remember that not these animals but I, am responsible that their load is delivered." The Spanish spy was also there, the noticed observer of all the hubbub and bustle; and Lord St. Vincent of course was present, eyeing him and the whole scene. His Lordship was in high content, for at any time he could find "* a sort of amusement and partiality for difficulties and obstacles, for the delight it afforded him to see others surmount them;" but now a great stir, and the seeming to make large preparations, were of all things what he most desired; the novelty also of the resource of labour served to divert him; but above all he revelled in his manifest defeat of the spy. Gun after gun was fired to enforce the signal to weigh. At each gun Lord St. Vincent pressed and entreated for despatch, expressing his apprehensions that the Levant wind, which was then fast dying away, would altogether cease before the transports could be got out of the bay; and then, he said, a favourable start would not only be lost, but the expedition might be detained a month by westerly winds. But at last, and by dint of very great exertion, the whole were under sail by the close of the day; and then the Spanish spy too was observed to take his departure.

* Mr. Hallam.

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The better to mask the object of the Expedition, the orders were, to keep on the African shore till they were on the eastward of Cape Tres Forcas, and that a rendezvous should not be given out till at the eastward of Ceuta, and out of view of Gibraltar. By the following morning the westerly wind had wafted the whole convoy out of sight of land to the eastward, and as no one expected to hear of them for some time, all thought about them was soon absorbed in a fresh occupation which happened to arise, engaging the attention of the whole fortress. But in about a month after they sailed, Lord St. Vincent having received despatches, announced that the Island of Minorca was taken, and without the loss of a single man! The island was not strongly garrisoned, and the authorities of Spain, lulled by the spy's report, that there was no fear that the descent would be in the Spanish Mediterranean territory, and that the fleet's destination evidently must be very distant, for that the Admiral had not only bought up every atom of provision which he could lay hand on, but had shown the greatest anxiety that they should not lose the easterly wind to clear the Straits, made no effort to throw in reinforcements, though they had troops in abundance around Barcelona.

A short time before the Expedition sailed, and while the equipment was causing the severest exertion to every department within the fortress, Sir James Saumarez, with the disabled ships and the prizes in the battle of the Nile, arrived, amid the shouts and cheers from all ranks assembled to

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greet them. But though the spectacle was a proud one to the community, it was of serious portent to the civil department, for Lord St. Vincent ordered the repairs of the whole to be taken in hand immediately.

An Autumn's Ant-hill would not badly represent the rock of Gibraltar at that period; it swarmed with life and diligence; not a spot on which important work of some kind or other was not going on, not an individual that was not hastening on some urgent business to be done immediately; and, in truth, the efforts that were then made on that little place by, or rather for, England, were prodigious.

"The Chief," directing the whole, was, as his trusty co-operator,* Mr. Jackson, used to say, "in all his glory;" and the sudden metamorphosis from the perfect Sea-officer to the efficient civil Superintendent astonished every one. No variety, no difficulty of employ was beyond the reach of his diversity of talent: in spite of failing health and approaching age, his application and his industry at business defied the accumulation of arrears. Up generally till two o'clock in the morning, reading and writing his letters, his last question to his Secretary† invariably was, "Now, Sir, have I done all my work for the day?" and till the affirmative came, he never retired to rest. Out and about before daylight dawned, to be satisfied that the watch was properly kept, afloat and ashore; in the

* By this time Mr. Jackson had been removed from the Ville de Paris, and attached to Lord St. Vincent's personal suite.

† Just before this period the author's father was appointed to that situation.

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Dock-yard before the gates were opened to the artificers, to see that they all came at the proper hour; by day-break at the Ragged-staff, two miles from his house, to know by inspection what quantity of water for the fleet had been collected in the night; or strolling around the jetties to which the ships were lashed, he would discern the sluggard from the diligent crew. That his approach might not be perceived, he requested an order from the General that sentries should not salute him as he passed; and it was on one such early silent walk, before the busy hum and patter of a Dock-yard had commenced, or even the day well dawned, that, as he reached the Majestic, notwithstanding a light in her cabin-windows, his Lordship, somehow thinking that the ship was remarkably quiet and still, hailed her: "Majestic ahoy!" and on no one answering, he continued hailing, "Majestic ahoy!—Majestic ahoy!" till at last he roused the sentry, who asked, "What the devil is the matter?" Worn out with the heat and toil of the preceding day, every individual in the ship was sound asleep, the light in the cabin-windows having been that which many Officers then used to burn to induce his Lordship's belief that they were up betimes and dressing. The Marine was sent to bring the Officer of the watch; and that reprimand was given which it is now unnecessary to repeat: but at least this idea may be formed of its effect—never again were candles lighted there for that *ruse*. That Lord St. Vincent at all times preserved an unruffled command of his temper, or of himself, nay

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more, that on stirring occasions of unofficer or unseamanlike conduct, or when retarded by laziness or factiousness, a torrent of impetuous reproof in unmeasured language did not violently rush from his unguarded lips, will never be pretended here. Equally unbounded was his confidence, and encouraging his manners, towards those who, like himself, would make every personal convenience give way to the public service; with what consummate skill, what profound knowledge of human nature, he would perform a still more difficult part in directing the men, privately and gently administering the rebuke intended to be most impressive, the progress in the repairs of another ship must exhibit.

It did not take long to patch up the prizes for merely a voyage to Lisbon; but then followed the more substantial repairs of the captors, for though they were such battered ships, Lord St. Vincent, to the surprise of every one, announced that it was his intention to restore them all to perfect seaworthiness at Gibraltar.

It may be supposed that from the moment of their arrival at the Rock, the heroes themselves had met from their Commander-in-chief, from General O'Hara, and from all ranks, a reception which amply testified admiration and gratitude. "The chosen band" had nobly justified the choice; the victors could not but be gratified with such laurels.

The incidents of their glorious battle are now familiar to every one: but the obstinacy with which a contest with the L'Orient, the enemy's overpowering three-decker, was maintained by the

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Bellerophon, a small seventy-four, until she was so shattered that she could hardly be kept above water —of which now-a-days no one needs to be informed —was then at Gibraltar always a prominent topic of admiration and anecdote. Lord St. Vincent, too, was especially marked in his notice of her Captain, D'Esterre Darby, frequently calling him to his side at great dinners and *fêtes*, invariably paying him many complimentary attentions. But while he exulted in this splendid naval victory, his Lordship further saw how important it was to England that Europe should see that Lord Nelson had smashed the French fleet so easily, that it was not necessary to send a single British ship off the station to repair damages. It is conceded that this reflection, among sundry others of his mighty mind, was what Lord St. Vincent had not imparted to her Captain, who, on the other hand, was as anxious to return with the Bellerophon to grateful and merry England; such, nevertheless, was his Lordship's view, and he gave his orders accordingly.

But when that gallant Captain ascertained the Commander-in-chief's determination, he was so disappointed as to be unable to repress expressions of disapprobation in somewhat unbridled licence, and that not only among naval Officers, but at the army messes, and at public assemblies; commenting on the hardship of a ship being kept on a station when the means could not be found of rendering her seaworthy for more than a passage home; that it was a common expression that a post-chaise might be driven through her sides, so shot-holed was she; and

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that he did not know who would fight the Country's battles, if, after behaving as his fellows had, they were to be sent to sea to be drowned for it afterwards.

Now, Gibraltar was then the very place where such remarks would soonest reach the ear of the Chief in command. At first, Lord St. Vincent refrained from noticing them, hoping that they would subside; but finding that at length they were beginning to excite a sensation injurious to proper discipline, and to oppose his designs as an impossibility being at any time the infallible clinch to his peremptory determination to have them done, he resolved to remove this impediment, and did so in a manner which was at once kind, but decisive.

There happened to be a grand dinner at the General's, at which the Commander-in-chief, and several of the "Nile heroes," were present, and Lord St. Vincent was, as usual, very marked in his graciousness to Captain Darby. When they separated at night, his Lordship retired to his house at Rosia, and Captain Darby to his ground-floor lodging near the Mole Jetty, to which the Bellerophon was lashed. But, not long after he had fallen asleep, he was awakened by a tapping at his window. Annoyed at being so soon roused, he gave a very gruff repulse to the disturber; but as the knocking provokingly continued, he was at length compelled to ask "Who 's there?" and the voice was Lord St. Vincent's, which said, "It is I—it is I, my dear Darby; get up, I have something to say to you."—"Oh, my Lord, is it you?" drawled out

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the Captain! "why, we have only just parted!"—"I know that, Darby; but I am always thinking of you; and I have had a dream about you, which I must tell you, for till I have told it I cannot rest; so get up, and come over to the window and hear it."

"Well, my Lord, I hope it is a short one, for I am uncommonly sleepy."

The window being opened, and Captain Darby in only his nightcap and shirt, standing on the inside, Lord St. Vincent in full dress uniform, bending in from the outside, his Lordship proceeded:

"Darby, I dreamt I was looking on at the battle of the Nile, and, of all our ships, the Bellerophon most attracted my admiration. I saw her alongside the mighty L'Orient, nobly supporting a conflict quite unrivalled in our naval history; and then I exclaimed, 'Look at Darby, there! what a fine gallant fellow he is! what a matchless hero!' and, Darby, I dreamt that I watched you there obstinately continuing that unequal fight till, two of your Lieutenants being killed, and two hundred of your crew killed or wounded, I saw yourself knocked down by a splinter, and the Bellerophon drifting past her enormous opponent; and then I said, 'What an incomparable hero that Darby is! how proud I am of the choice I made of him! how greatly will England approve of my selection!' After that, Darby, my dream changed, and I was here again on the Rock, and some one told me that when, instead of going to England, you received my orders to repair your ship here, you said,

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'It was quite impossible, for there are not enough shipwrights on the Rock; that it is notorious she can hardly swim; that people said a post-chaise might go through her; and that you did not know who would fight the battles of the country, if after fighting as your fellows had, they were to be sent to sea to be drowned for it afterwards!' and I replied, 'Why, surely it cannot be the gallant Darby who has said all this! is *he* turned chicken-hearted?—I can't believe it, 'tis impossible!'"

Starting with impatience, Captain Darby exclaimed, "Good God! my Lord, what do you mean by such a term?"—"But," continued his Lordship, calmly, "remember, this is only my dream, Darby. Yet they told me, that you not only said all this among the Officers of the squadron, but at the army messes too, and moreover they mentioned who had heard you; and I was indeed astonished and grieved! But then, Darby, my dream again changed, and I thought I was at a Court-martial, *and, Darby, do you know, it was your sword lay on the table!* Now, remember, this was only my dream, Darby, but now I have told it to you, I hope I shall be able to rest, so good-night!" And shutting the window, away his Lordship went, leaving Captain Darby no longer sleepy.

On the following day a large party dined with Lord St. Vincent, but Captain Darby, who either had not quite recovered from the loss of sleep, or not forgiven the disturbance, was unusually silent, keeping at a ceremonious distance from his Lordship. This did not escape Lord St. Vincent's observation.

Where 's Darby?" he called out during dinner.

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"Why, Darby, you appear out of spirits,—now that's my dream, you're thinking about,—come, let's have a glass of wine together."—"Indeed my Lord St. Vincent," replied the Captain, filling his glass, "there's no knowing where to have your Lordship; for you have a tongue like a cow." And, while all were astonished at the temerity of the answer—"How so? how so, Darby?"—"Because, my Lord, you have a rough and a smooth side to it."—"Ah, Darby," replied his Lordship, "you're always playing off your jokes on me; but never mind, it was only a dream,—Here's to you, Darby."

Need it be said, that the nocturnal hint admonished the Captain to more discretion? He still, however, would privately maintain to his Chief, the great difficulty of sufficiently repairing this ship, while his Lordship not only insisted that it could, and should be done, but even mentioned the very day on which he fully expected she would be ready. "Why, it is impossible, my Lord," said the Captain. "As it is, we are short here of artificers; but it would take a ship-load of carpenters to fish her masts and make her hull seaworthy."—"Nevertheless I think it will come to pass, Darby," replied his Lordship.

A day or two afterwards, on Captain Darby's visiting the dock-yard, his ears were astonished by an unusual clatter of caulkers and carpenters from his own ship. Lord St. Vincent had despatched a brig to the fleet off Cadiz for two shipwrights from every ship-of-the-line, and now, having reached the yard before the Captain, when he approached the Bellerophon, greeted him, "Well

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Darby, half my prophecy is fulfilled, the ship-load of carpenters are arrived, and I foretell the Bellerophon will go out of the mole on the appointed day." Still Captain Darby was sceptical: the hold was unstowed, the mizen-mast ashore, the repairs yet to be given to the hull considerable; but the Admiral repeated his prognostication, and they separated. Efforts were redoubled, by yet more and more artificers, and on the morning fixed for the Bellerophon's departure, while at breakfast with his Lordship, Captain Darby's attention was arrested by a gun from the flag-ship. "That gun, my dear Darby, is the signal for the boats to assist in towing out the Bellerophon."—"But the mizen-mast, my Lord, not yet stepped, and the rigging not yet received from the Dock-yard."—"That will be alongside as soon as the ship is anchored in the Bay. There's another gun for you, my dear Darby!" And the guns continued firing till the ship's lashings were cast off, and the Chief's prophecy fulfilled to the letter.

And thus—that is, by a Commander of such a genius, inspiring such life and vigour throughout every department, and into every ship, expeditions were despatched, and the Nile squadron was repaired without a single ship quitting the station. Mighty naval exertions! mighty had they been made in a home port, but accomplished on the distant, poorly supplied, exhausted rock of Gibraltar, they have no parallel. But they could be planned or executed by only the powerful capacity and profuse resources of a master-mind, directing the

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zeal and talents of very efficient subordinates, and the admiration and gratitude due to them is not the less for the silence in which they laboured, nor for the results they realized. For thus, with scarcely any application to our exhausted over-burthened home Dock-yards, the Cadiz and Mediterranean squadrons were enabled to make head against the three-fold outnumbering force of the combined enemy; in a word, the most active and important share which England then bore in that furious war—the southern operations against France and Spain—were carried on.

These labours continued till the fall of the year. But before then, such incessant fatigues of mind and body had told heavily on Lord St. Vincent's health, and upon the receipt of his Lordship's apprehensions, "that he must retire or sink," the Admiralty had sent out Lord Keith with reinforcements to the fleet before Cadiz, it being the avowed intention that his Lordship should succeed to the command of the Mediterranean station, should Lord St. Vincent be compelled to relinquish.

Shortly after this, Lord St. Vincent returned to Cadiz Bay, but he was so worn down and so ill, that he could not remain there long. After a few weeks' duty there, he was obliged to return to Gibraltar. There, until the early spring of the following year, he was busily occupied in the construction of large tanks for watering the fleet. It had been to him for a long time a source of anxiety that, owing to the great augmentation of naval and military force at the fortress, the water which

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flowed down from the impending rock, was inadequate to the demand. In the retreat of his fleet from Corsica, in December 1796, his departure to Lisbon was delayed by lack of water to supply to his ships; and, should the garrison be again besieged, and that by bad luck happen in a dry season, the horrors of drought might be inevitable. His Lordship therefore was very anxious for the construction of large tanks as reservoirs. To obtain the necessary permission and assistance cost him endless trouble and correspondence, with the Admiralty, the Horse-Guards, and the Ordnance; but when the work was complete, it excited universal admiration; and he used to prophesy,—"I hope they may not be wanted,—but yet the time may come when the enabling a fleet to remain at this anchorage, perhaps the very retention of the fortress, may be owing to this measure."

While, therefore, Lord St. Vincent may be supposed occupied in personally inspecting these excavations, and as nothing for a few months happened of importance in his fleet before Cadiz,—Spain having relaxed into languid hostility,—the opportunity may be taken of offering a few other traits of his individual character.

As an enemy, his warfare was truly magnanimous. His letters to the Spanish Admiral Don Jose Mazzaredo, on behalf of the brave Spaniard Don Vasquez Figuerroa will afterwards appear; but the treatment with which his Lordship honoured the gallant officer of El Africa must be related.

This little Spanish Xebeque was boarded by

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Captain Saunders in the Espoir, and carried, after a most desperate and heroic resistance, in which the enemy's First-Lieutenant, Don Jose de Coltello, gloriously fell, — the Captain, Don Manuel d'Acquirre, and Lieutenant Don Jose Salcedo, were severely and dangerously wounded. They were both brought to Gibraltar, and the former soon died. Lord St. Vincent gave him a public funeral, requesting the attendance of all the Officers in the fortress, himself walking as chief mourner. Don Jose Salcedo still lay ill in the hospital, but his Lordship visited him almost every day, gave directions for every possible care of him, and at his own expense supplied him with whatever comfort and luxury money could at Gibraltar procure. As soon as the gallant Spaniard was sufficiently recovered, his Lordship invited him to a public dinner, and there informed him, that for his brave conduct he was freely released without exchange, and gave him a copy of a letter (which also will be presented) which his Lordship had already written to the Spanish Admiral. Having read it, Don Jose exclaimed, "that his fortune was made!" and so it proved. He was immediately promoted to the command of a frigate; and Lord St. Vincent's letter ordered to be read on board every ship in the Spanish navy.*

* Does not one of our old ballads, in telling about a siege of Cadiz, when Lord Essex was sent to Spain in 1596, thus speak of a gallant warrior, Sir Benjamin Lianson, himself too a hero, from Staffordshire (from Trentham):—

Blessed be the time and season
That you came on Spanish ground,
If our foes you must be termed,
Noble foes we have you found.

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Such being a sample of his honour to the brave, a general order to his fleet shows how he would manifest his disapprobation of an uncalled-for infliction of the miseries of war.

GENERAL ORDER.

H.M.S. Victory, 30th August, 1797.

MR. , acting lieutenant of H. M. ship , having disgraced His Majesty's service by giving sanction to two boats' crews of the same ship while rowing guard on the night of the 28th inst., on boarding with drawn cutlasses two Spanish fishing-boats, wounding one of those inoffensive fishermen, and robbing both the boats of their wine, in breach of his orders, and in violation of all discipline and humanity, the Commander-in-chief has dismissed from his employment as acting lieutenant of and intends to represent him as totally unfit to fill any employment in His Majesty's service. This to be read to the Officers and ship's company of every ship in the fleet.

ST. VINCENT.

The insertion of the foregoing order, at once brings under consideration the measure with which Lord St. Vincent meted punishment. The fact was, that upon all occasions, and in all his conduct, whatever it were, energy and force of character predominated. It has before been admitted how vehemently he would exhibit his impatience of dull unseamanlike behaviour, or of perverse opposition to his will; and it was only consistent with such demonstration of forcible feeling, that he who was enthusiastic in his praise, instant and profuse in his reward of merit, and munificently generous with his

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purse, should also be very severe in his punishments—and such was the fact, such was also among the very attributes which so remarkably qualified him for his times. Sufficient would seem to have already been said on this subject, if another and still more striking exemplification of this ingredient of his character had not been made public, and with such little consideration, that reference to it again is unavoidable. In the remarks the offender's name was published at large; though therefore it might, it will not be repeated here; the order is sufficient to identify the case to those who may have read the former strictures.

An abstract from the official memorandum of a Court-martial, composed of three Admirals and nine Captains, states, that

Mr. was sentenced for having, on the night of the 24th June, with one of the 's boats and another from that or some other ship, boarded a Gibraltar privateer in the bay of Cadiz. The Officer in the other boat having examined the commission and found all right, immediately left her, as did Mr. , but the latter returned again, and on pretence of supposing her an enemy's (Spanish) privateer, demanded wine and porter for himself and his boat's crew, of which they partook largely, and after much overbearing and violent conduct, he took away with him from the cabin of the privateer, the Captain's watch and blue jacket, and two silk handkerchiefs from the clerk, all of which he secreted in his hammock on board the , where they were found the following morning by one of the Lieutenants who was ordered to search for them.

The Court is of opinion, that the charges against the prisoner have been proved, and doth adjudge him to be

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degraded from the rank of Midshipman in the most ignominious manner, by having his uniform stripped from his back on the quarter-deck of the , before the whole ship's company, and to be further disposed of as the Commander-in-chief shall direct. To be mulcted of his pay now due to him for his services on board any ship of his Majesty's service, and to be rendered incapable of ever serving as an Officer or a Petty Officer in any of His Majesty's ships.

On that, Lord St. Vincent issued, in a General Order, his letter to the Captain.

TO CAPTAIN , H. M. S. .

SIR,

You are hereby required and directed to cause the sentence of the Court-martial, held on board His Majesty's ship the Prince, this day, for the trial of Mr. , Midshipman, on the charges exhibited against him, by you as Captain of H. M. ship , to be put into execution.

And you are to cause his head to be shaved, and a label affixed to his back, expressive of the disgraceful crime he has committed. And he is to be employed as the constant scavenger for cleaning the head, till my further orders.

ST. VINCENT.

The whole of this sentence was ordered to be read to every ship, not only of the fleet before Cadiz, but throughout the whole range of Lord St. Vincent's command.

When this Officer thus offended, death had just been inflicted on the mutineers of the Marlborough, Captain Maitland had been acquitted for killing the rebel in the Kingfisher, and the traitors in the Princess Royal were in irons, awaiting their doom. It

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was, in fact, the very height of the mutiny. To minds therefore capable of justly appreciating such a crisis, and the nature of the profession, honour being its very soul, which Mr. had disgraced, the sulky jealousy with which the overawed seamen would then watch how their Commander-in-chief, severe upon their faults, would deal out justice when the Offender was an Officer, and the loftiness of conduct, which at such a season above all others it became the Officer to maintain, the very severe example made of Mr. will appear satisfactory; but those who think it excessive may fairly be reminded, that had an equivalent offence been then committed in England, the as yet unmitigated penal code would have awarded the most terrible punishment to the culprit, and it is equally certain that the difference of the crime having been perpetrated at sea only aggravated its heinousness.

But enough for the time of severity, however well judged. Now let us again contemplate the nobler feelings of this energetic Admiral. For opportunities, we need not anticipate his days. His austerity frowned but at intervals: his generosity was ever at hand.

A private soldier at Gibraltar fell into a deep pit, which had been unsuccessfully dug for a well. The man remained there some time, and was in great peril of suffocation by the mud and noxious vapours, which were so dangerous that no one would venture down to help him. At length the Portuguese Joaquim (the former boatswain of Captain Nelson's ship, and appointed by Lord St. Vincent to the

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Dockyard) let himself down by a single rope and rescued the poor fellow. Lord St. Vincent presented a handsome piece of plate, valued 28*l.*, to the deliverer; the inscription was, "For preserving a soldier's life at the risk of his own."

One summer's day, when the weather was intensely hot, the sea so calm, and the fleet so still, that the ships seemed, overpowered by heat, to sleep upon the water, the Ville de Paris' crew were ordered to bathe. As is usual, a top-sail was bent over the ship's side, into the sea, in which the least venturous might wash themselves, while the rest enjoyed that indescribable delight of a good swim in the ocean.

The light-hearted playfulness of the creatures whose spirits were thus let loose, burst out into all sorts of gambol and drollery. Some dashed off the ship's head, others off her yard-arms, a few of the strongest swimmers with their clothes on, every antic, every feat of strength and activity that could be imagined was performed, and

"Fun and frolic grew fast and furious,"

till the word of command recalled the people on board to the orderly quiet of stern discipline.

After the great ship had resumed her stateliness, the Commander-in-chief, perceiving on the forecastle a knot of Blue-jackets' heads, apparently very much concerned in the interest of one of the group, stole gently towards them, to take a sly peep at those extraordinary and noble animals. He soon returned in haste, and ordered his Secretary to go forward

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and find out what was the matter; for, said his Lordship, "there 's my delight, Roger Odell, in tears!" The Secretary obeyed, and reported that Roger had been one of those active powerful fellows who had jumped off the foreyard with their clothes on; that of course he had forgotten that all he possessed in the world was in his trowsers' pocket in Bank-notes, that the exertion of swimming had reduced them to a useless pulp, and that now the man was in despair, for the sum was considerable. Having heard the amount, Lord St. Vincent enquired, "What can we do for Roger, Mr. Tucker, for he is a glorious fellow and an invaluable seaman; can we give him a warrant?" Upon reference to the Captain, it was found that a warrant would not long fit Roger, he was such a child when tempted by liquor. "Well, something or other we must do for him," said his Lordship, and went into his cabin. He shortly afterwards returned to the Quarter-deck and requested the Captain to turn the hands up.

When they were all assembled Lord St. Vincent called for Odell, and as soon as the splendid seaman, with his hat in his hand, stood between the ship's company and her Officers, assuming a look of displeasure, by a dramatic power of countenance so peculiarly his own, his Lordship angrily addressed him,—"Roger Odell, you are convicted, Sir, by your own appearance, of tarnishing the British oak with tears! What have you to say in your defence, why you should not receive what you deserve?"

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Roger, to whom the finding himself in this scrape was an accumulation of calamity quite overwhelming, could only plead, "that he had lost all he had in the world; that he knew it was his own fault; but that having been a great many years saving it, he could not help crying a little; but that if his Lordship would only forgive him this once he should never see him cry again;" and then he appealed to the Captain and First-lieutenant for a character.

"The loss of money, Sir, can never be an excuse to a British seaman for tears. There could be but one,—which will never happen to you, Roger Odell, —disgrace." A pause of breathless silence then followed; when, softening down the gruffness of his tones, Lord St. Vincent proceeded:

"Roger Odell, you are one of the best men in this ship; you are, moreover, a captain of a top; and in my life I never saw a man behave himself better in battle than you in the Victory did, in the action with the Spanish fleet. To show, therefore, that your Commander-in-chief will never pass over merit, wheresoever he may find it,—there is your money, Sir," giving him £70: "but no more tears, mind, no more tears, Sir."

Taking the money in silence, the astonished man held it mechanically before him, as if so ordered, and ignorant what next he should do with it. Then he stared at the Admiral, then, opening his hand, he looked at the Bank-notes, and then around him into the faces of the bystanders, who all were observing him. At length the "Pipe below," and

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the sound of the people moving down recalled him to himself; when, becoming sensible that what he was holding in his hand he really was to retain for his own, "Thank, ye, my Lord, thank ye!" he said, and then dived a header into the crowd to conceal an exhibition of feeling, which again he was unable to repress.*

During the blockade of Cadiz, the admiration of the Commander-in-chief was frequently attracted by the zeal and ability with which the Commander of one of the small brigs maintained his station, under every change of weather, in the most advanced position off the harbour. From unavoidable circumstances the vessel had been kept longer than usual on that trying service; instead of going into port, her provisions and stores had been often replenished from the fleet; but the Commander persevered without starting a difficulty or allowing a murmur to escape him. The private merits also of this Officer had won Lord St. Vincent's esteem, who was aware that, with very slender means, he was by great personal privations nobly struggling to respectably support a wife and numerous young family. At length a relief arrived, and it was also officially reported, after the usual survey, that the brig required much repair. On the day she rejoined the Admiral, his Lordship had desired his Secretary to bring him £100; and upon hearing

* As there is a similarity between this and another anecdote belonging to later years, it is right to say, that besides his Secretary's memorandum of each, an investigation of Lord St. Vincent's accounts substantiates both.

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that not one half of that sum was on board, he told Mr. Tucker to beg or borrow it by any means. With some difficulty the amount was collected, and then the secretary was desired to make out the necessary orders for the repair of the brig at Gibraltar, and for her proceeding on a cruize, his Lordship adding, "If I send him to England now, he 'll be paid off, and he has not wherewith to buy a gown for his wife and daughters." The Commander met a most kind reception, was invited to that day's dinner, called by the Commander-in-chief to his right hand, and distinguished by marked attention. After dinner the Admiral, having sent for him to receive his orders, thus addressed him:—

"You have had, Sir, a long and severe duty, but I trust it will not prove an unprofitable one in the result, for I have not failed to notice the officer-like, manly way in which you have performed it. I have desired the Commissioner at Gibraltar to give your brig a complete refit; and when she is ready, the orders I shall now give you, will carry you to the best position within my command for your chance of picking up some prizes. So be sure you fill your hold at Gibraltar with all the provisions you possibly can stow, for you will be at liberty to cruize as long as you can make them last; and, mind, I expect you will stock your own store-rooms, hen-coops, and wine-bin thoroughly."

The Commander expressed his best gratitude for his Lordship's kind thought of him; and his hopes that he would now so far extend it, as to permit

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him to say that he was unable to avail himself of the intended favour, for he was not ashamed to own such poverty as entirely prevented his laying in the necessary stock consistently with his duty to his family. And he entreated to be allowed to go upon half-pay in retirement, since such was fated to be the lot of his days.

Lord St. Vincent answered, — "You know I always like to be obeyed without a difficulty. Your orders, which are in this parcel, will, I hope, be found not to prejudice your family. Let me never hear a word in reply, or of any more thanks about them,—there,—Go and prosper." Need it be said, the parcel contained the £100?

Having from boyhood to old age devoted his unemployed hours to reading and improving his mind, that Lord St. Vincent highly accomplished it, was not the only result. He also deeply grieved at daily perceiving how much of the young Officer's, especially of the military, life at Gibraltar, was lost in unprofitable occupation; that as the fortress itself afforded no amusement whatever, when tired of lounging about the streets, the Officers were driven to assemble in each other's rooms, or in the Jews' shops, where drinking and desperate gambling too frequently followed.

To apply the remedy, at once the most humane and noble, to this, his Lordship determined on placing the Library, which he found a thing existing in name only, on such a footing of reality as to serve its proper functions. There were scarcely any books. There was no reading-room at all. Of heads,

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and of time for them to resort thither, there was superfluity; but of money to build it there was a still greater scarcity. Lord St. Vincent, therefore, prevailed upon General O'Hara to join him in getting up a subscription to build, and fill, a good room,—he did more, he induced the Admiralty to give it the Government countenance, and he never lost sight of it till he saw the room built, and a useful library permanently established.

Now, if there has been an individual who,—we will not say, instead of wasting his time in idleness, imbibed in that library even so slight a relish for the "raptures of knowledge, as to place him on its frontier, affording a glimpse of the boundless realms beyond," * but who by only harmless mental employ there, was rescued from the bottle, the gambling-table and ruin, let him, and let his friends (and where is the English family that has not had friends at Gibraltar?) gratefully acknowledge, that it is to Lord St. Vincent's benevolent humanity that they are greatly indebted:—his Lordship's subscription also was one hundred and sixty guineas!

In perfect keeping with such a character, Lord St. Vincent had the power, so seldom possessed by those in elevated station and authority, of becomingly receiving a joke tending to ridicule his personal consequence. A remarkable instance must be related. It is feared it may offend some excellently intentioned very serious persons, and this is regretted, but the scene too severely tested the exalted mind, to be omitted.

* Sir John Herschell's beautiful language.

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Even the eye that has only glanced over the preceding pages, cannot but have been arrested by the order which issued, in the perilous times of the Mutiny, for a parade every morning of the Marines in every line-of-battle-ship; "God save the King" to be played; the guard to present arms; and hats off at the time, &c. &c. An excellent order, and one highly approved of in the service, as heedful of allegiance and loyalty, and as continually exhibiting to the crews the military power of that corps, upon whose aid the preservation of lawful authority so much depended. Lord St. Vincent never failed to attend the ceremony, maintaining great solemnity. Though it was not required of other Officers, yet it was noticed, that his Lordship invariably appeared in full-dress uniform; and, as a general warning to all, was remarked the very violent displeasure which he one day manifested, springing from the Quarter-deck upon a seaman, a captain of a top, whose head his Lordship spied in the distance, for an instant covered while the National Anthem sounded.

But if the angry reproof to that thoughtless man were, as it was intended, the subject of grave reflection to all the seamen, it also excused many a circle of Officers released from the solemnity of the Quarter-deck, for smiling over the following parody.

The First Lesson for the Morning's Service is a part of the third chapter of Discipline.

1. The Earl of St. Vincent, the Commander-in-chief, made an Image of blue and of gold, whose height was about five feet seven inches, and the

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breadth thereof was about twenty inches. He set it up every ten o'clock, A.M., on the Quarter-deck of the Ville de Paris, before Cadiz.

2. Then the Earl of St. Vincent, the Commander-in-chief, sent to call together the Captain, the Officers, the Parson, the Seamen, and the Marines, to come to the dedication of the Image which the Earl of St. Vincent, the Commander-in-chief, had set up.

3. Then the Captain, the Officers, the Parson, the Seamen, and the Marines, were gathered together, unto the dedication of the Image which the Earl of St. Vincent had set up; and they stood before the Image which the Earl of St. Vincent had set up.

4. Then the Captain cried aloud, To you it is commanded, O Officers, Parson, Seamen, and Marines, that at what time ye hear the sound of the trumpet, the flute, the horn, the clarionet, the drum, the fife, and all kinds of music, ye take off your hats, and worship the blue and golden Image that the Earl of St. Vincent, the Commander-in-chief, hath set up: and whoso taketh not off his hat and worshippeth, shall be sorely visited with the Commander-in-chief's displeasure.

5. Therefore, at that time, when all the people heard the sound of the trumpet, the flute, the horn, the clarionet, the drum, the fife, and all kinds of music, they took their hats off and worshipped the blue and golden Image which the Earl of St. Vincent, the Commander-in-chief, had set up.

6. Wherefore, one morning after that time, a

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certain Officer drew near, and accused a thoughtless thorough-bred seaman.

7. He spake, and said to the Earl of St. Vincent, O, my Lord, live for ever!

8. Thou, O Commander-in-chief, hast made a decree, that every man that shall hear the sound of the trumpet, the flute, the horn, the clarionet, the drum, the fife, and all kinds of music, shall take his hat off and worship the blue and golden Image; and whoso taketh not off his hat and worshippeth, shall be sorely visited with thy displeasure.

9. There is a certain seaman whom thou hast made a Petty Officer, and hast set over the affairs of the Main-top: this man, O Commander-in-chief, regarded not thee this morning: he took not off his hat and worshipped the Image thou settest up.

10. The Earl of St. Vincent, in his rage, commanded to bring the Captain of the Main-top. Then they brought this man before the Commander-in-chief.

11. Then was the Earl of St. Vincent full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed, against the poor Captain of the Main-top:

12. Therefore he spake, and commanded that they should rig the gratings, read the Articles of War, and call the boatswain's-mates; and commanded the boatswain's-mates to take their thief's cat-o'-nine tails;

13. And he commanded the most mighty men that were in his ship to seize up and bind the Captain of the Main-top, and that he should be punished with one dozen lashes.

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14. Then the Captain of the Main-top, in his trowsers, his hosen, and his shoes, but without his jacket and his shirt, was bound up to the gratings, and was flogged with one dozen lashes.

15. Then was the Captain of the Main-top sore at the displeasure of the Earl of St. Vincent, the Commander-in-chief.

Here endeth the First Lesson.

This having circulated itself through most of the Ward-rooms in the fleet, to their no little merriment, and having ascended into the Cabins of the more mighty, in time found its way to the Ville de Paris, and, somehow or other, fell * so remarkably upon her companion-ladder as to arrest the notice of the Commander-in-chief, and shortly after, his Secretary being sent for, found his Lordship reading it in fits of laughter.

Having extracted from the Secretary that it was the production of an Officer whose abilities had often before attracted his Lordship's notice, a Lieutenant of the Thalia, Mr. Pryce Cumby, Lord St. Vincent said, "That 's a merry, clever little fellow, Tucker, that Cumby, and an excellent Officer, Sir." His Lordship then entirely changed the conversation, talked for a long time of a variety of other important matters, and at last ended the interview by desiring the invitation of a large party of Captains to dinner.

In the course of the afternoon his Lordship ordered the signal for the Lieutenant of the Thalia,

* There is reason to fear it fell from the Secretary.

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and having kept him in a long talk about his frigate, he requested that, as it was so late in the day, he would stay and dine.

The dinner, at which Mr. Cumby remarked to himself he was the only Lieutenant, passed off with the usual courtesies.

As soon as the cloth was removed Lord St. Vincent availed himself of a pause in the conversation to ask his Secretary, in a voice that attracted the attention of all, "What shall be done to the man whom the Commander-in-chief delighteth to honour?"

But what his Lordship thought in his heart little occurring to the Secretary, he merely replied, "He did not know, but promote him he supposed." — "Not so, Sir," said the Chief, — "set him on high amongst the people: so, Cumby, go you and sit there," (pointing to a chair he had caused to be elevated in the cabin, and so as not to have attracted previous notice,) "and read that, Sir," handing a paper; "read it out, — let us all hear it." — "Yes, my Lord," said the Lieutenant smartly, and seated himself.

On opening the paper, the sight of all things he least expected, — of his parody, made him start off the chair with "Oh! my Lord!—"

"Read it, Sir, — read it, I command you!" To which, there being no reply, Mr. Cumby proceeded: —

"'The First Lesson for the Morning's Service is a part of the third chapter of Discipline.

"'1. The Earl of St. Vincent, the Commander-in-chief, made an Image of blue and of gold, whose height was five feet seven inches, and the breadth thereof twenty inches:'" — and then, beseechingly,

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"Oh, my Lord, my Lord! — I do trust your Lordship won't compel me!"

"Go on, Sir!" said the Chief, "and sing out." So Mr. Cumby was obliged to resume.

It is well known, that while the suffocating Captains bit their lips, and riveted their eyes to their plates, lest in a look, a glance of sympathy, they should explode into laughter, Lord St. Vincent sat with a countenance erect and grave as if at a Court-martial, and thus sternly remained, till the reader arrived at the 11th verse, in which his Lordship was "full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed, against the poor Captain of the Maintop," but that this was too much, self-control gave way, and he burst into a roar of laughter, into which all the Captains heartily relaxed, Mr. Cumby himself not being able to resist a smile.

By the time "the convulsion had dwindled to a calm," his Lordship had again dramatized his countenance; and turning to the little Lieutenant, still sitting on high, he addressed him in the demurest tones:

"Lieutenant Cumby,* you are unanimously found guilty, *and without a Court-martial, Sir*, of parodying the Holy Writ, and that too for the purpose of bringing your Commander-in-chief into ridicule. Religion, Sir, is under the especial protection of the Law; and to diminish the respect in which your Commander-in-chief is holden, at all times a grave

* Mr. Cumby may have been then transferred to the Excellent. But that Fleet as well knew him as Little Cumby of the Thalia, as England now knows him as the First-lieutenant of the Bellerophon at Trafalgar; for it was he that so nobly conducted her in that battle, Captain Cooke having fallen early in the first of the fight.

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offence, is, at this particular period of mutiny, one of aggravated sinfulness. The sentence, therefore, upon you, and *without a trial*, I do adjudge,—that, for this your offence you have my permission of three months leave of absence to England, to, I hope, as well amuse yourself there, as you have amused me here; and that, on the day in which you report yourself returned, you do me the honour of dining with me again."

In the mean time,* while Lord St. Vincent had gradually become very unwell at Gibraltar, Lord Keith had held the port of Cadiz in strict blockade. The truth is, hostilities had become languid, Spain

* They who recollect the despatch of Sir Sidney Smith to Acre, and the irritation it excited, may perhaps expect reference to it; but reflection has induced the opinion, that the misunderstanding, if not now quite out of date, belongs to the history of Lord Nelson. That the investing a young officer with independent command within the stations of his seniors in age and rank, could not be too palatable, is very imaginable; it may also have been an unprecedented step; but all that was too obvious to have escaped Lord Spencer. Notwithstanding the partial temporary inconvenience, the Government decided that it was for the public advantage that Sir Sidney should act in freedom from control: with what result, at Acre, all Europe admired.

Yet it is remarkable how surely Lord St. Vincent would exhibit something worthy admiration in whatever he participated. His Lordship very fully sympathized in the offence at, and disapprobation of, the measure, which Lord Nelson felt: but when he was called upon to act, his strong sense appeared. He forwarded the measure to his utmost; "for," wrote he to Lord Spencer, "it being "my invariable maxim to promote His Majesty's service by every "means in my power, the moment Sir Sidney Smith arrived and "produced his instructions, I did everything in my power to acce- "lerate his progress."

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was heartily sick of the war, and Mazzaredo had orders accordingly.

But soon the energy and omnipresence of Buonaparte's mind began to be felt. As Spain confessed her weakness, he pressed the sorer upon her. Active hostilities against England, or invasion by France, were the only alternatives. Spain unwillingly yielded; the recal of Mazzaredo was submitted to, and that a French Admiral, La Crosse, with a suite of French Officers, should superintend the equipment and departure of the Spanish fleet. But the Directory, it was hinted, would not be found so absolutely inexorable—a very large sum of money might perhaps be accepted in lieu of ships. An enormous amount was mentioned: one far beyond the treasury at Madrid; but still what could be scraped together from resources in South America.

Among the shopkeepers at Gibraltar was a tobacconist named Ygea, a Spaniard, who, in that fortress where every one fancied he could see the other's livelihood, had attracted notice, by thriving upon no custom. That man waited privately upon Lord St. Vincent, one evening at this period, and having disclosed that he was the confidential agent of Don Manuel Godoy, the Prince of Peace, of Spain, communicated, that unless England would assist the Court of Madrid to pacify Buonaparte, Spain could no longer continue inactive warfare. He then stated the enormous amount which had been required; that Spain had it in her colonies, and would fain give it, could She bring it to Europe, but that such was the ubiquity of the English cruizers, that She dared not

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attempt it; wherefore he was authorised to request the conveyance of a British frigate. A very large freightage was also offered to the Admiral. But towards this remarkable request Lord St. Vincent felt he could advance no further, than to engage to forthwith submit the whole to his Government.

What the decision of the English Cabinet was, is not known, nor is it material. Either Spain to instruct Ygea, or Ygea to obey Her instructions, had delayed too long. On the evening of the 6th May the Secretary brought information to Lord St. Vincent, then confined to his bed by illness, that a powerful French fleet, twenty-six of-the-line, with frigates, was passing the Rock into the Mediterranean. These his Lordship at once knew could only be from Brest, which therefore must have escaped our Channel fleet. It will be recollected that they did elude the vigilance of Lord Bridport, and ran down before Cadiz to claim the assistance of their friends there, but daunted by the threat of battle which Lord Keith, getting under weigh, gallantly made, though he lay between two hostile fleets each greatly outnumbering his own, went through the Straits to compel the junction of the squadron at Carthagena.

But now the question was, how could Lord St. Vincent inform the Governments of England and Portugal of this total change of affairs? How warn Lord Nelson, Sir John Duckworth, and the other detached squadrons of the approach of such a powerful enemy? How send to collect the whole force of the station to pursue them? To accomplish the

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whole, was of the utmost importance: the means for any part were very scanty. The Cameleon, with a Portuguese sloop, was all that could be afforded to dodge the enemy's motions, and apprize the squadron within the Straits. The Vesuvius was sent to Minorca. The Speedy, Captain, now Vice-Admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton, was ordered to Lisbon. But much quicker communication than this promised, was absolutely necessary—to England, to Lord Keith, and to Lisbon. Men were found, who, for money, promised to go through Tetuan and Tangier, and from thence to send a boat off to Cadiz; and they were despatched; but no reliance was placed on them, nothing more was heard of them. At last, the Secretary ferretted out a Spaniard who really seemed trust-worthy, and who offered to dare it through the lines; but just before he was brought in, the zealous Mr. Jackson had, upon such an emergency, volunteered to row round to Cadiz in an open boat, his services had been accepted, and he went off, so the Spaniard was sent direct to Lisbon. The despatch, "Brest Fleet gone up. St. V., 6th May," was written in cypher on a slip of parchment and coiled away in a sugar-loaf button of the man's dress. When he started it was a violent storm of wind and rain, and that helped him to get through the lines* unnoticed. Anxiety being so far at an

* He was only challenged by one sentinel, whom dollars quieted; but in Spain he was twice stopped on suspicion, every seam of his clothes was ripped open in search of despatches, but the button escaped, and safely delivered its charge, which was the first intelligence the Minister at Lisbon had of the event.

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end, and relying confidently on Lord Keith's despatch, Lord St. Vincent proceeded, dictating from his bed, with the other orders and arrangements which this sudden alteration of affairs rendered necessary.

But the tempest which passed the messenger through the lines, arrested the boat on the ocean. The next day, while also the General and Sir Isaac Coffin were in the room in conference with the Admiral, to their great disappointment, Mr. Jackson entered, drenched to the skin, to announce that so violent was the storm at sea, and dead against him, that the utmost efforts of his crew through the whole of the preceding day and night had been unable to get through the Straits, and that it was only with the greatest danger and difficulty that he had just landed at the Mole, the boat itself being swamped there.

"Then nothing remains," said Lord St. Vincent, "but to bribe through Spain; so, Tucker, go you, *rummage* the Rock, and try how much more gold is wanting to raise up the man who will brave a sentry's bullet, or, may be, a spy's halter."* "I'll let your Lordship know the moment I have found him," said the Secretary smiling, and taking his hat. "Stay, Tucker, I will go," said Sir Isaac Coffin. "*You* will go!" they all exclaimed. "Yes—on plea of proceeding to my appointment at Halifax,

* Was not this a literal fulfilment of Mr. Houblon's quaint prediction, two centuries before, to Mr. Pepys, of the difficulties which Naval Secretaries would find in "procuring faithful and honest intelligencers, and such as would have the wits to avoid the danger of a rope?"

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the Governor of St. Roque will give me a passport to Lisbon—but in Spain I'll travel as a merchant of the Country; and if I can't send off to Lord Keith from Cadiz, I certainly shall be able to from Faro; so cypher away your despatches while I go for a dress—*you see this thing must be done.*"

This was, indeed, to serve his Country. Notwithstanding his imminent risk, the courage and address and perfect mastery of the Spanish language of Sir Isaac Coffin were then, not to be rejected. By the close of the day a passport was obtained; Sir Isaac received his instructions, and departed; and while all the rest were pensive on the important consequences hanging upon the arrival of these despatches, and grave at the frowning aspect of affairs, nothing could depress Sir Isaac's elasticity of spirits; and leaving the room singing a Bolero, he positively infected the others with his light-heartedness. "Good b'ye, Coffin," said Lord St. Vincent, laughingly, "you'll be hanged to-morrow."—"Yes," said they all, "you'll be hanged to-morrow, Coffin, so farewell."

And now at length there did seem a prospect of reaching Lord Keith, and Lord St. Vincent's mind was relieved: but the consequences of such intense excitement were, that he became very seriously ill. Meanwhile Sir Isaac got through. At daybreak of the earliest morning on which Lord Keith could possibly appear, the Secretary entered the Commander-in-chief's room to say, "The fleet is rounding the rock;" adding, "and so, my Lord, Sir Isaac is not hanged."—"That's by no means so certain yet, Mr. Tucker," said the Chief, laughing; "but, to tell

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you the truth, Sir, I never imagined a Spaniard of our days a match for an American, which Sir Isaac is, an Indian hunter, every inch of him. But now, Tucker, do you go and tell Jackson to hasten on the watering the fleet, and that we'll all sail as soon as possible."

Mr. Jackson outdid himself: each ship put forth her greatest exertions; the old Admiral, ill as he was, superintended the whole in person; and surprising as it may appear, it is no less true, the entire fleet was watered, provisioned, stored, and got ready for sea in two days!

The flag was hoisted in the Ville de Paris; and though she was soonest ready, yet she was not permitted to quit the Bay till every single ship was seen under weigh; and then as they all sailed, nightfall closed a day which had witnessed efforts, to which, of their kind, it may be doubted if the history of the British Navy can produce superior.*

* Perhaps these circumstances appear too minutely detailed, but there are reasons.

Though the person who ventures the statement to which this is a note, was assisted by the Secretary's memoranda, and knows they are true, nevertheless, as to speedily follow the French fleet was then Lord St. Vincent's imperative duty to his Country, and as more expeditious exertions have been here attributed to the Admiral and to his fleet, than appear in Captain Brenton's narrative, further corroboration will be offered from Lord St. Vincent's log of those days' proceedings.

Extract from Log.

Monday, May 6th, 1799.—Moored in Gibraltar, New Mole, P. M.; at five saw a fleet pass through the Straits, which proved to be the French fleet; sailed, Cameleon.

Orders. — Captain Stiles (Cameleon) to proceed to Malta;

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It was Lord St. Vincent's opinion that the principal object of the French fleet was to make a dash to recover Minorca and overpower Sir John Duckworth's small squadron there. His Lordship therefore proceeded with his fleet to cover the island, and encounter the enemy; it has since been ascertained that a powerful combination of naval force in the Channel was all that they then contemplated.

But, to the efforts of the strongest, nature sets a limit; Lord St. Vincent, though with shattered constitution, had made exertions beyond robust health,

and having delivered to Captain Ball, or the Officer commanding His Majesty's ships, or those of his allies blockading that place, the packet he received herewith, to make the best of his way to Alexandria, and deliver to Sir William Sidney Smith, or Officer commanding ships off that port, the despatches bearing his address; having so done, to proceed with the utmost caution to Messina, or wherever he might learn, from good authority, I might be.

Letters.—By the Cameleon, to Captain Ball commanding the blockade of Malta, and Sir William Sidney Smith at Alexandria, informing them of the enemy having entered the Mediterranean, and that I should follow with my whole force as soon as the squadron could be got in from before Cadiz, and directing Captain Ball to advise Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson hereof.

Letters.— By the Androhina, to Lord Nelson, advising him of the Brest fleet having entered the Mediterranean, and that I should pursue it. Sent a confidential man through the lines; a second to Tariffa, a third to Tangier, who engage to take boats at those places, and proceed in quest of Lord Keith, with orders to come to Rosia Bay. Sent similar directions by Mr. Jackson, who hoped to get through the Straits in a fast rowing gig.

Tuesday, 7th *May*.—Moored in Gibraltar Mole. Arrived: Vesuvius. Orders to Captain Moore (Vesuvius) to proceed with the utmost caution to Port Mahon, with letters to Rear-Admiral Sir John Duckworth.

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and now came the reckoning. He could no longer carry on duty. He therefore transferred the command of the fleet present with the flag, to his noble second in command, and repaired* to the harbour of Mahon to recruit strength. There he quickly found that his illness was far beyond the reach of partial repose; and even that was soon painfully interrupted, by the already mentioned distressing occurrence resulting from the mutiny in the Impétueux. At last Lord St. Vincent felt, that to place Lord Keith in entirely unfettered activity, was as necessary for the

Wednesday.—8 A.M. strong gales; P.M. ditto weather.

The weather rendering it totally impracticable to have any communication with Lord Keith through the Straits, and a passport having been obtained from the governor of St. Roche for Commissioner Coffin, on plea of his being appointed to Halifax Yard, I desired him to proceed through Spain to Lisbon, and from thence to England, to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of the Brest fleet having entered the Mediterranean, &c. &c.

Thursday, 9th.—The extract would not be material.

Friday 10th, A.M.—Arrived: His Majesty's ships Barfleur, Vice-Admiral Lord Keith; Prince George, Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker; Princess Royal, London, Ville de Paris, Namur, Foudroyant, Gibraltar, Northumberland, Hector, Defence, Montague, Marlborough, Warrior, Majestic, &c., &c.

Saturday, 11th.—Moderate breezes. At sunset hoisted my flag on board the Ville de Paris. (Signal) Fleet to weigh. After other immaterial entries: "Weighed, in company with the whole Fleet."

* The age, the rank, the services, and the extreme illness of this Admiral being considered, can there be any one who thinks that the sailing to Mahon in his flag-ship instead of a frigate, by which the Ville de Paris was separated, it is believed, no more than eleven hours from the fleet, deserved so severe a remark as is to be found in Mr. James's Naval History of this period?

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service of the Country, as fair to the noble Admiral himself. In June, therefore, Lord St. Vincent transferred the entire command, with his secret orders, to his successor, and repaired in the Argo to Gibraltar.

On the morning after he reached the fortress, the combined fleets of France and Spain were seen to pass through the Straits.* Messengers were again despatched to England and to Lord Keith; again Mr. Jackson volunteered to be one, and now succeeded.

In a few days Lord Keith passed in pursuit. Shortly after he was gone, Lord St. Vincent sailed in the Argo for England.

* An incident attending the return of the combined fleets must be related; allusion to it will hereafter be necessary, but there is a far more acceptable reason; it is an as yet untold anecdote of the presence of mind and courage of one of the highest-minded characters that ever adorned the British Navy, the late Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland.

At this period that gallant Officer was Lord St. Vincent's Flag-lieutenant; and when the fleets were first descried, Johnny Gilpin, as his Lordship used to call him, was sent to order the Penelope, a little hired cutter, to go, count, and dodge them. The Lieutenant commanding the cutter was found too ill to utter an order. But Mr. Maitland, well knowing his Chief, and that this was service which must be done, at once assumed the command, and got the vessel under weigh. He stood over to Ceuta. The night was so pitchy dark, and so calm, that the cutter was unperceived by the enemy, and yet, so close among them, that the words of command in French and Spanish could be distinctly heard. At daybreak she was about gun-shot distance from the whole Spanish Fleet. When they saw her, their Admiral signalled a number of launches to tow a brig of 14 guns to attack her, but on their arrival within shot from the little Penelope, the reception she astonished them

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Besides Captain Grey, the Flag-lieutenant, and the Secretary, Lord St. Vincent now selected another Officer from his Flag-ship to accompany him, Doctor Andrew Baird. His appointment as Surgeon of the Ville de Paris was not before the preceding January, but Lord St. Vincent's insight into man, at once discovered the talents of this gentleman. He became attached to the personal suite. He will from henceforth appear conspicuously in his Lordship's public career, and in his esteem and confidence.

The flag was struck at Spithead in August.

with was so spirited, that the enemy dropped astern again and retired, and a faint hope of escape appeared, for there being no wind, the cutter's boats were kept ahead all the forenoon, towing to the southward. Then every ship in that mighty fleet, except one frigate, actually turned their heads to the southward to give chase to the cutter. But the frigate stood to the northward, and, as the afternoon's westerly breeze got up, it brought her down under studding-sails near the Penelope, before the air had reached her; when she was within cable's length the frigate opened her broadside fire. Mr. Maitland told the cutter's crew to lie down upon the deck till the frigate had discharged all her guns. The men lay down very smartly: but when ordered to rise, splice the topsail braces, and get the vessel's head about, not a man of them would stir. "Fighting," they said, "was not their employ; they were not hired for it, and, should they lose a limb, there was no provision for them;" and thus, the frigate now renewing her fire, the little Penelope was taken.

To the honour of the Spanish Admiral it must be added, that having witnessed this bravery, and heard that it was Lord St. Vincent's Flag-lieutenant that had displayed it, he sent Mr. Maitland in a cartel to Gibraltar, declaring him free without exchange.

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TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Victory, in the Tagus, 2nd March, 1797.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the squadron of His Majesty's ships under my command, with the Spanish ships captured on the 14th ultimo, anchored here on the 27th and 28th, and we are using the utmost diligence in repairing their damages, and in fitting for sea; that the Zealous, after having been hove down thirteen times, is now in great state of forwardness, and the St. George, upon a strict examination into her defects by Mr. Churchill, the Master-shipwright, is judged to be in a reparable state for a short term of service, without docking: she, the Captain, Britannia, and Egmont, it is very advisable should go to England as soon as the necessary arrangements can be made to furnish other ships in lieu. The weather being very favourable for equipment, I trust it will not be long before I shall be able to proceed to sea, in order to cover the supplies for the garrison of Gibraltar, so far as may be necessary to secure their safe arrival.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.—STANDING ORDER.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, at sea, 5th April, 1797.

IT being of the utmost consequence that the ships under my command should be expert in the exercise of the great guns, it is my direction that every ship, whether at sea or in harbour, exercise at least five guns every day, under the direction of the Officer who had the morning watch; and that they practise with locks, the lanyards not to reach to the decks, in order to prevent any accidents by the guns running in; and that it may be noted in the Log-book every day, signed by the Officer who performed that service.

J. JERVIS.

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MEMORANDUM.

Ville de Paris, 6th April, 1797.

CAPTAIN SOTHEBY, of the Victory, to make known to Lieutenant that the Commander-in-chief thinks fit to charge the amount of the damages sustained on board that ship and the Goliath, by the negligence or ignorance of the said Lieutenant, against his wages; and the Captains of the two ships are to direct their respective carpenters to make an estimate thereof, to be signed by them, and counter-signed by the Captains, for the information of the Admiral. J. JERVIS.

TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS. — GENERAL ORDER.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 16th April, 1797.

EACH ship of the fleet is specially required to have her lower-deck guns run out every day that the weather will permit, and the people kept in constant daily practice at all the guns, but not too long at a time. J. JERVIS.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY DON JOSEPH DE MAZZAREDO.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 25th April, 1797.

SIR,

I have the most perfect confidence in the honour and integrity of your Excellency, and that you will faithfully perform what you have professed in your letter of the 22nd instant. In justification of the conduct of Rear-Admiral Nelson and Capt. Sir J. Saumarez, I have the honour to enclose copies of a correspondence which passed between a Chef-de-Division at Toulon and me; and having seen with the deepest concern that the Councils of Spain have been influenced by those of France to wage an unnatural, unprovoked war against Great Britain, I could not,

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before I knew the character of the person I had to deal with, run the risk of another insult to the feelings of humanity. The Minister who could lend himself to so calamitous a measure as the unfortunate one I have had occasion to allude to I shall ever abhor, as must every good Spaniard, although he cannot proclaim it as I do. At the same time I am happy in this opportunity to declare that no man respects the genuine Spanish character more highly than Your Excellency's, &c. J. JERVIS.

GENERAL ORDER.

4th May, 1797.

THE Commander-in-chief wishes to call the attention of the Captains of the squadron to the expediency of watching the motions of the Ville de Paris, and making sail the instant she does: the event of last night, and the remoteness of the ships from their stations this morning, although the shifts of wind were favorable, demonstrate the necessity. He also repeats, in writing, what he said to them in person, — that when the signal is made to tack or wear in moderate weather, every yard of plain canvass should be spread immediately, more particularly in the rear ships, they having so much more way to make than those nearer.

J. JERVIS.

TO VICE-ADMIRAL

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 28th May, 1797.

SIR,

Notwithstanding the orders issued by you to your division a few days ago, several Lieutenants have come on board the Ville de Paris, to answer the signal, this morning, with round hats, and strings in their shoes; I therefore desire it may be communicated to the division, that orders are left at the entering port not to permit any Lieutenant to enter the ship so dressed.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY DON JOSEF DE MAZZAREDO.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 3rd June, 1797.

SIR,

After the declaration of your Excellency that you would not enter into a discussion of diplomatic matter, I cannot but express my astonishment at the introduction of it in your letter of yesterday, to which I have no other reply to make, than a repetition of my declaration, that the conduct of Monsieur Parlier is disgraceful to the representative of a great nation, and that I will cause military execution to be done on every Officer and man who falls into my hands acting in violation of the convention entered into at Lagos between the Consuls of the two nations under the auspices of Sir Gilbert Elliot, late Viceroy of Corsica.

I have the honour to be, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO CAPTAIN FREEMANTLE, H.M.S. SEAHORSE.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 5th June, 1797.

SIR,

I desire you will order the Captains of frigates and sloops of war in Gibraltar Bay to attend the watering duty alternately, beginning with the Captain next in succession to yourself, and to go downwards, with two Lieutenants, one at the ragged staff, and the other at the tanks. And it is my direction that they perform this duty night and day until the transports are loaded.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

FROM REAR-ADMIRAL NELSON.

H.M.S. Theseus, June 12th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

The flag of truce was only to bring the letters sent herewith; but it brought out in conversation a circumstance

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which, though believed by many, I have my doubts about; at least that the Spaniards would have acknowledged it, viz. that the Trinidada not only struck her colours, but hoisted une Pavillon Parliamentaire; the fact is now so well established, that it cannot be done away. The next morning, when attended by the frigate, seeing some of our ships not far off, I suppose Egmont and Namur, she hoisted an English Jack over the Spanish flag, to induce the English to suppose she was a prize. Everybody, their Officer says, expects peace to be settled, and that it will be known here by the end of the month.

Believe me your most faithful HORATIO NELSON.

FROM REAR-ADMIRAL NELSON.

H.M.S. Theseus, June 13th, 9 P.M.

MY DEAR SIR,

What the intentions of the Dons are, I know not; but their movements would assure me, if English, that they are on the eve of coming out. We see that thirteen sail-of-the-line are unmoored, and hove short; I saw Gravina cat his anchor, and they did it briskly; but the accommodation-ladder of his ship was not in at sunset. The signals which they have been making this day are not their usual harbour signals. I will give them credit for their alertness if they come out in the morning. This squadron have their bulk-heads down, and in perfect readiness for battle, and to weigh, cut, or slip, as the occasion may require; I have given out a line of battle, myself to lead, and you may rest assured that I will make a vigorous attack upon them the moment their noses are outside the Diamond. Pray do not send me another ship, for they may have an idea of attacking the squadron; and if you send any more, they may believe we are prepared, and know of their intention; it will, Sir, be my pride to show the world that your praises

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of my former conduct have not been unworthily bestowed. Believe me ever, my dear Sir, your most affectionate and faithful HORATIO NELSON.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 16th June, 1797.

SIR,

I desire you will acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Lieutenant T. M. Hardy, in the French republican corvette La Mutine, cut out of the Bay of Santa Cruz by the boats of His Majesty's ships Lively and La Minerve, has this moment joined, and the despatches found on board her appear to me of so much importance, I send the Rose cutter to Lisbon with them, requesting Mr. Walpole to despatch a packet to England, directly to forward them to their Lordships.

The gallantry of this action recited in the public and private letters of the Captains Hallowell and Cockburn has prompted me to take La Mutine into His Majesty's service, and to appoint Lieutenant Hardy* to the command of her; a measure so necessary to encourage a continuance of daring enterprize I am confident will meet the approbation of their Lordships.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO DON JOSEF DE MAZZAREDO.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 17th June, 1797.

SIR,

I am honoured with your Excellency's letter of yesterday, and beg leave to refer you to mine of the same date for the acknowledgment of having received the three prisoners belonging to the Emerald's launch.

* The late gallant Admiral Sir Thomas M. Hardy.

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In respect to the Officers and men disembarked at Lagos from His Majesty's squadron under my command, under a solemn convention, the documents in proof of which your Excellency has thought fit to return, I shall be totally regardless of the judgment of her most faithful Majesty, or of any other Sovereign on earth except my own, in my treatment of them, should they fall into my hands acting in violation of that sacred engagement. I have the honour to be, with great regard and esteem,

Your Excellency's, &c. J. JERVIS.

FROM REAR-ADMIRAL NELSON.

Theseus, June 21st, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

The history of women was brought forward I remember in the Channel fleet last war. I know not if your ship was an exception, but I will venture to say not an Honourable but had plenty of them, and they always will do as they please. Orders are not for them,—at least I never yet knew one who obeyed. Your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

MEMORANDUM.

Ville de Paris, 21st June, 1797.

OBSERVING, as I do with the deepest concern, the great deficiency of water in several ships of the squadron, which cannot have happened without waste by collusion, and the service of our King and Country requiring that the blockade of Cadiz, on which depends a speedy and honourable peace, should be continued, an event impracticable without the strictest economy in the expenditure of water, it will become my indispensable duty to land all the women in the squadron at Gibraltar, unless this alarming evil is immediately corrected. J. JERVIS.

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TO CAPTAIN

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 30th June, 1797.

SIR,

A representation having been made to Rear-Admiral Nelson, that there was an alarming deficiency of boatswain and carpenters' stores on board His Majesty's ship the late under your command, it was found expedient to cause a survey to be made on the remainder, and a comparative view drawn between them and the expenditure. And I enclose copies of the report thereon, the natural result of which has been a reference to the office book, to ascertain what orders have been given for surveys on boatswains' stores in the and for the conversion thereof, conformably to the general printed Instructions, and my Standing Orders on this head. None having been discovered, after the most diligent search, I desire you will send me copies of the Orders you received from the Admiral of your division, for the surveys, and inform me under what authority you appropriated, by way of conversion, the running rigging which was unreeved.

I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

TO THE EARL SPENCER.

Ville de Paris, at anchor off Rota, 30th June, 1797.

MY LORD,

Feeling as I do, for the weight of debt with which the Country is oppressed, and for the lamentable state of the discipline of the fleet, I beg leave to submit a hasty sketch of a Peace Establishment to your Lordship's consideration. I have the honour to be, with equal respect and esteem, your Lordship's very faithful and obedient servant, J. JERVIS.

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Yachts.—Should be sold as totally useless, tending to nothing but corrupt sinecures, too often given to worthless Officers. The King's cutters should also be disposed of.

Guard-ships.—So infamously rotten and corrupt, as to have sown the seeds of all the theft, false musters, and general departure from the regulations of the service; and the men in them made idle and profligate; the annihilation of this establishment, therefore, becomes absolutely necessary. As a substitute, if it is thought proper, to have line-of-battle-ships in commission, I would recommend that the number determined on, should be fitted in the autumn, and sail under an active Flag-Officer for the West India Islands the latter end of December or beginning of January,—visit every one of them in corps or by detachments, and rendezvous at Halifax in Nova Scotia, in the month of July; there give the ships a thorough caulking with their own caulkers, overhaul their standing and running rigging, repair their sails, and contrive to reach Spithead by the middle of October, where they should remain until the latter end of December, or beginning of January, as before appointed for their departure, and upon no account be permitted to come into Portsmouth Harbour. If necessary, to have a small naval force in the islands during the hurricane months, six small frigates, or sloops of war sufficient.

Mediterranean—Should always have an Officer of splendour, peremptorily ordered to visit Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli in person, every summer, and return to Gibraltar, *vid* Naples, Leghorn, Genoa, touching perhaps at San Fiorenzo; for though I disapprove of any close connection with Corsica, advantage may be taken in future wars by preserving a communication with that perfidious race. An accurate survey to be made of the Zafarina Islands, and the anchorage within them, and expert miners sent out to sink wells deep enough to obtain water. At Gibraltar, both pits for careening should be kept in good repair; tanks and baths built at the Naval Hospital, the tanks under the

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eight-gun battery always kept in order, the approach to the Ragged Staff deepened by taking away the sand, and tanks with pipes and spouts from them, constructed in Rosier Bay for more expeditiously watering the fleet.

East Indies.—No ships of war necessary there, unless required by the East India Company.

England, Scotland, and Ireland,—Will require a number of frigates and sloops-of-war, to form officers, and improve the masters, who are very deficient in pilot knowledge. All the ships serving there ought to have double the complement of Lieutenants and Masters, and treble of Midshipmen. In spring, summer, and autumn they should be employed in surveying every part of the coast, and care taken that they are never idle, and that the general printed instructions are rigorously enforced on all their parts. To this effect an able, firm, and virtuous Flag Officer ought to visit and muster them.

Size of Ships.—Ville de Paris, ne plus ultra of first-rates. —*Victory,* a fine model for ships of 98 guns.—*Carnatic,* the standard of 74 guns.—*Frigates,* are grown preposterous; I never wish to see one larger than the Inconstant.

Repairs of Ships, and Improvements in Dock-yards.—To be set about with vigour, and carried on with perseverance, much reform necessary in the Civil Department. If all the clerks in the dock-yards were dismissed, with annuities, payable on one condition only, "that they reside fifty miles from any Dock-yard," the public would benefit exceedingly. The artificers are all thieves,—a new race would perhaps be as bad.

Transport Board.—Of no use whatever. Captain James Bowen, fixed as he was before Lord Howe took him into the Queen Charlotte, would transact the business of that department much better, and at a small tythe of the expense.

I say nothing of Newfoundland, because it seems a proper provision for a needy and meritorious officer.

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Marines.—A very considerable corps should be kept up, and I hope to see the day when there is not another foot-soldier* in the Kingdom, in Ireland, or the colonies, except the King's Guard and Artillery. The Colonels of Regiments might be provided for during their lives by annuities equal to their present pay and emoluments.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 6th July, 1797.

SIR,

The Zealous joined this morning, and I enclose reports of the proceedings of the squadron late under the command of Captain Hood, which show him to be an officer of very considerable ability; and had Consul Allen's intelligence been correct, he certainly would have succeeded. I trust their Lordships will not be displeased with my repeating to them how highly I think of the three Captains who blockaded the port of Toulon last summer,—Troubridge, Hood, and Hallowell, who will achieve very important services to their King and Country when I sleep with my fathers. I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

FROM REAR-ADMIRAL NELSON.

H.M.S. Theseus, 7th July, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Officer who came out with the flag of truce says, that our Ministers at Lisle are Lords Grenville, Malmsbury, and St. Helens; Dell' Campo and Coporosa, on the part of Spain; and De la Croix, Le Tomrais, and another, on the part of France: that peace is expected every day,—that with the Emperor is ratified and finished; also, that

* This is not the only opportunity which Lord St. Vincent took of avowing his opinion that all our Regiments of the Line should become Marines.

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the Government of Genoa is completely altered,—many of the senators were massacred, and their palaces plundered. News from Cadiz, by a market-boat, that our ships did much damage; the town was on fire in three places; a shell that fell in a convent destroyed several priests (that no harm, they will never be missed); that plunder and robbery was going on, — a glorious scene of confusion; that representations have been made to Mazzaredo, and to the Admiral, to come out with the fleet. I see an Admiral moving forwards, and now I perceive it is Mazzaredo. The bombs and mortars will be finished to-night, but I cannot part with the Isis. I have arranged about the change of howitzers: to-morrow I will write on that subject. I wish you had mentioned about Zealous, we hear nothing of her.

Ever yours most faithfully, HORATIO NELSON.

Please God, I hope the Spanish fleet are coming out, and the Admiral is under sail, and I open my letter to say they are all on the move.

FROM REAR-ADMIRAL NELSON.

H.M.S. Theseus, July 10th, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

I will send Mr. Yawkins off San Pedro, and hope it will answer its intended purpose. I was in hopes the gentry would have enabled me to have a run at them, but they are too much on their guard. If the King of Spain goes on this way, and the Mexican fleet fall into our hands, he will be like Billy Pitt, give nothing but paper. As for these shots flying about the Theseus, it will do her good, and make her the better for your support in some proud day, not far-distant, I hope. Portugal ought to be grateful for your attention to her interest, and so ought little England. Believe me ever your most faithful

HORATIO NELSON.

The Dons will be tired enough to take a good *nap* this afternoon.

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TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS. — STANDING ORDER.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 11th July, 1797.

A REPORT is to be made to the Commander-in-chief every Sunday morning (when the account of the consumption of water is delivered in) on what days the bedding of the respective ships' companies was aired and shook, and how long they remained exposed to the air each day.

J. JERVIS.

TO CAPTAIN , H.M.S. .

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 13th July, 1797.

SIR,

I approve very much of every part of your conduct stated in your letter of this date, except that part of it which relates to your correspondence with the Secretary of the Admiralty. I did hope that the gentle reproof I gave you on corresponding with the Secretary of the Admiralty when you captured , would have put a stop to any further proceedings of that kind while under my command. As it has not produced the effect intended, I must say that I consider a correspondence carried on between any Officer under my command, let his rank be ever so high, with that Board, on any the most pressing and important occasion, save through me, the Commander-in-chief, is an extreme attempt to suppress the foundation of my authority, and I must mark it as such in a public letter to the Board. I am, Sir, &c. J. JERVIS.

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TO WILLIAM JERVIS, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, at anchor before Cadiz,
16th July, 1797.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I derive inexpressible satisfaction from your letter of the 18th May: signing myself "St. Vincent" for the first time, this day, it is proper I should acquaint you why this title was conferred, in preference to Yarmouth and Orford. The King objected to the former, because Lord Hertford, on being created a Marquis, had taken it as the title of courtesy of his eldest son. When this bar was signified to me by Lord Spencer, and a hint given about St. Vincent, I observed the death of the venerable Earl of Orford in the newspaper. It had originally belonged to the Navy, having been conferred on Admiral Russell after the battle of Le Hogue; and wishing to avoid a charge of arrogance in naming the scene of action for the title, I submitted Orford to the consideration of His Majesty, at the same time expressing a wish that he would be graciously pleased to choose for me, and he accordingly fixed on St. Vincent. My reasons for naming Yarmouth in the first instance were, that it is a considerable port of trade, which I have represented in the House of Commons; the people are attached to me; and I have views of bringing Mr. Thomas Jervis in for it, if I live to see another general election: but Baron Jervis, of Meaford, is the foundation-stone of all; and I cannot describe the happiness I feel in deriving from a beautiful spot where I have passed many delightful hours. The consequences of the action of the 14th of February are much more glorious to my country than the action itself, for the Spanish fleet has been palsied from that hour to this. The enemy has actually in the Bay of Cadiz one-third more force than I have, manned,

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equipped in all points, and fit for sea. I shall add to your pleasure in reading this little history by assuring you we have not a sick man in the fleet; the Spanish fishing-boats furnish us with fish; the Portuguese bring supplies of fruit, onions, and other vegetables, from the coast of Algarve, which borders on Andalusia; and a Jew butcher, with whom I have contracted, brings very well-fed oxen from Tangier, on the coast of Africa. We get plenty of excellent water in transports from Gibraltar and Lisbon, and are amply supplied with other provisions; and the people drink a pint of as good port each, every day, as will be found on the table of any man in England. Proud as this position is, I sigh for peace; the Country requires it; and I hope soon to assure you in person of the regard and esteem with which I am Yours, ST. VINCENT.

MEMORANDUM.

Ville de Paris, 20th July, 1797.

THE Spanish schooner captured yesterday by the boats of the squadron, has, to the disgrace of the fleet, been plundered in a most shameful and scandalous manner; it is the Admiral's directions that the Captains cause a strict search to be made to recover all the things stolen, and to cause them to be returned instantly to the Spaniards, more particularly the things belonging to the Spanish Colonel and his lady, who came home passengers, and the delinquents severely punished. The Spanish Colonel's things to be sent instantly to the Orion. ST. VINCENT.

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TO LORD SPENCER.

Ville de Paris, at anchor off Rota, 26th July, 1797.

MY LORD,

I am not surprised that the proposition I had the honour to submit to your Lordship should appear extravagant. You may rest assured that the civil branch of the navy is *rotten to the very core.* The mounds of the military have been broken down by the baneful example of a few men of fashion, whom it would answer no purpose to name, although I fear they continue in error; the latter may be easily restored by a tight and steady hand; but I agree with your Lordship that the former, upheld as it is by powerful Borough influences, and the habits and prejudices of an old corrupt Country, will require much time, caution, and judgment, to get the better of; yet I do not despair of its accomplishment if your Lordship is supported.

I have the honour to be ST. VINCENT.

TO CAPTAIN

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 24th August, 1797.

SIR,

The very disorderly state of His Majesty's ship under your command, obliges me to require that neither yourself nor any of your Officers are to go on shore on what is called pleasure. I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO EARL SPENCER.

Ville de Paris, Cadiz, 27th August, 1797.

MY LORD,

In consequence of the rise of seamen's wages in the ships of His Majesty, a new regulation respecting the ratings,

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to take place immediately after the peace is concluded, and to be enforced with the utmost rigour, is absolutely necessary, otherwise no benefit to the public will be derived by the advance of wages, and the same injustice to the real good seaman which has obtained during forty-nine years that I have been in the service, and for a much longer space of time, will continue. Let it be understood by this regulation that no Captain is authorized to rate an *able* seaman who cannot steer the ship, heave the lead, and perform every other part of a seaman's duty; and that no length of service, or meritorious behaviour in other respects, gives pretensions for the rate, unless accompanied by competent knowledge in seamanship as above described. It is said, Vice-Admiral Cornwallis ordered every man to be rated able seaman who served in the squadron under his command after the glorious retreat he made from M. Villaret: highly as I respect the Vice-Admiral, I hold this to be a very improper way of rewarding ship's-companies for gallantry in action.

I hear of alterations intended in the Book of Instructions, which I see very little ground for; sure I am that if the pruning knife is not conducted with a very skilful hand, His Majesty's service will suffer material injury. The existing regulations *enforced*, and all will be well.

I have the honour to be, ST. VINCENT.

MEMORANDUM.

Ville de Paris, 29th August, 1797.

COMPLAINTS have been made to the Commander-in-chief by the patrons of two Spanish fishing-boats that they were boarded last night by three guard-boats belonging to the fleet, and robbed of their kegs of wine, containing in all about fifteen gallons; one of the kegs was returned after

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the wine was drunk; and what adds greatly to this outrage, these harmless people were assaulted with drawn swords, and every appearance of piracy: it is therefore required that the Officers who commanded the boats in question do make a report of the transaction, that justice may be done.

ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 1st September, 1797.

SIR,

I wish to call their Lordships' attention to the actual state of Gibraltar, as it relates to watering a large fleet. The sheets of water that pour down from the rock during the rainy season, used formerly to deposit in the red sand, and form a perpetual source; since parades and military roads have been made over the sand, it rushes down (on the north side) to the parapet of the Ragged Staff, and carries with it large quantities of loose sand, which have in a great degree choked up that little useful mole, insomuch that boats can only enter at high water. The revenues of the garrison are ample, and cannot, I conceive, be so well employed as in clearing this and the old mole also, much filled up; but there is such a propensity in all military men to increase of fortifications, that unless a positive instruction is sent out upon this head, the two moles will probably continue *ad infinitum* to fill up. I beg leave to submit to their Lordships' consideration the great utility of forming large reservoirs for water on the margin of Rosier Bay, where there is a good depth, and casks might be filled in the launches by means of spouts and hoses; I have desired Commissioner Inglefield to moot this proposition with the Governor and Chief-engineer, and have touched upon it in a late letter to General O'Hara; for as it is not probable we shall have Portugal for an ally in future wars, too much

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attention cannot be paid to this great object for the support of a fleet at Gibraltar. The rock furnishes all the materials, and labour is only wanting to effect everything in this way. The contractors demanded such an exorbitant price for constructing the tanks at the Hospital, owing to the number of workmen absent in privateers, that I have directed Commissioner Inglefield to defer that operation until the peace takes place, when all these works (should they meet the approbation of their Lordships) may be carried into execution at a trifling expense.

I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

GENERAL ORDER.—TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 20th Sept. 1797.

THE Commander-in-chief judges it proper, upon the sudden change in the state of the air, to repeat his order, that the crews of the fleet under his command are furnished with necessary slop clothing for the preservation of their health; he directs, that a tub of salt water be prepared, whenever slops are served, and the officers commanding divisions of men, see that they soak their frocks, shirts and trowsers in it; and he positively forbids the issue of slops in port. ST. VINCENT.

STANDING ORDER.—TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 25th Sept. 1767.

THE Commander-in-chief has observed with a considerable degree of surprise, several ships of the fleet employed washing their decks after daylight, he therefore enjoins that, in future, while the fleet continues in its present position, or is cruizing, that the decks are washed and

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swabbed before daylight, that the ships may be ready to seize that favourable moment to get under weigh, chase, and fall suddenly on an enemy. ST. VINCENT.

TO CAPTAIN

H.M.S. Ville de Paris off Cadiz, 7th October, 1797.

SIR,

I SHOULD have had a better opinion of you if you had not sent me a crying letter upon General O'Hara having withdrawn the detachment of the 18th Regiment from His Majesty's ship under your command. There are men enough to be got at Gibraltar, and you and your Officers would be much better employed in picking them up, than lying upon your backs, and roaring like bull calves. Why you did not impress the men out of the privateers while in quarantine, I cannot conceive. I wish all of you to be in quarantine during the war. I am, &c. &c. ST. VINCENT.

GENERAL ORDER.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, at sea, 10th October, 1797.

WHENEVER the Officers of the presume to take in a greater number of reefs in her topsails than the Ville de Paris, or neglect to govern themselves by her motions, they will be reproved by signal or otherwise. ST. VINCENT.

STANDING ORDER.—TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, in the Tagus, 4th Nov. 1797.

THE Commander-in-chief having seen several Officers of the fleet on shore dressed like shop-keepers, in coloured

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clothes, and others wearing round hats, with their uniforms, in violation of the late order from the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, does positively direct, that any officer offending against this wholesome and necessary regulation in future, is put under arrest, and reported to the Admiral, and, let the sentence of a Court-martial, upon such officers so offending, be what it may, that he is never permitted to go ashore while under the command of the Earl of St. Vincent. ST. VINCENT.

TO DON RODRIGO DE SOUZA COUTINHO.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, in the Tagus, 16th January, 1798.

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose a list of Portuguese seamen found on board a French Privateer, captured by His Britannic Majesty's sloop the Kingfisher, which will be sent on board her most Faithful Majesty's ship the Albuquerque this day. Having every reason to believe these poor fellows had no other means of escaping from the rigorous treatment they endured in the French prison, but by embarking on board a privateer in the expectation of being captured by some of the cruizers of the Allied Powers, and thereby restored to their Country, I entreat your Excellency will take their case into consideration, trusting they may be found deserving mercy and forgiveness for the crime they are apparently guilty of.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL, THE MARQUIS DE NIZA.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, in the Tagus, 18th Jan. 1798.

SIR,

If I understood our friend de Chastenet right yesterday, you wish to have my opinion, whether it is consistent

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with your rank, as Flag Officer, to be employed in the ship your flag is hoisted on board of, accompanied by a brig corvette, on a cruise against the enemy's small privateers which infest these seas, and being at all times desirous to obey your commands, I do not hesitate to declare, that I think it highly derogatory from the dignity of the rank you hold to be so employed. There are many instances of English Admirals taking passages in single frigates to the stations they were appointed to command squadrons, but I never heard of an Admiral cruizing with a ship and a sloop-of-war on any occasion. I have the honour to be, with great regard and esteem, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO REAR-ADMIRAL SIR JOHN ORDE.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, in the Tagus, 19th Jan. 1798.

SIR,

The conduct which you have pursued since you were under the painful necessity of putting Captain of His Majesty's Ship , under an arrest, merits my entire approbation, and your proposal to withdraw the application for a Court-Martial, in consequence of the apology he has very properly made, is equally a proof of the generosity of your character, and consideration for the injury His Majesty's service must sustain by the investigation of such a proceeding, and I am happy to comply with your wishes on the subject, by returning all the documents which are enclosed. I have the honour to be, with great regard and esteem, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

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FROM LORD SPENCER.

(Private and confidential.)

Admiralty, 29th April, 1798.

MY DEAR LORD,

You will by the present conveyance receive a letter from Nepean, preparing you for orders to enter upon a plan of operations very different from what we have hitherto adopted, and which I have no doubt will appear to be attended with a considerable degree of risk. You will easily conceive that such an instruction would not have been in contemplation if the circumstances in which we now find ourselves did not in a manner oblige us to take a measure of a more decided and hazardous complexion than we should otherwise have thought ourselves justified in taking; but when you are apprized that the appearance of a British squadron in the Mediterranean is a condition on which the fate of Europe may at this moment be stated to depend, you will not be surprised that we are disposed to strain every nerve, and incur considerable hazard in effecting it.

The armament at Toulon, Genoa, &c., is represented as being very extensive, and is very probably in the first instance intended for Naples; the apprehension of this, added to other reasons of various kinds, has produced a disposition on the part of Austria towards the French Republic which is almost sure to end in an open rupture; and the Austrians are in great force on the confines of Italy. This armament is, in truth, more likely to be destined either for Portugal or Ireland; for the former, most probably, by landing somewhere in Spain; for the latter, by pushing through the Straits, and escaping your vigilance, which, while you are occupied by the fleet at Cadiz, it is not impossible they may succeed in; whatever may be its destination, its defeat would surely be a great object for this country;

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and it is with that view, in the first instance, that the instructions are sent, of which you now have notice; we are, however, fully aware that unless the force which goes into the Mediterranean should chance exactly to hit upon the moment when this armament is at sea, its destruction will be very difficult, if not impossible; but in case of finding them still in port, the appearance of such a force cannot fail to check their proceedings; and the circumstance of a British fleet being in the Mediterranean will encourage the Austrians to act, and, most probably, divert the French force to a different destination from their present one.

It is proposed to be left to your Lordship's determination whether this purpose should be obtained by a detachment from your fleet, or by taking your whole force into the Mediterranean; at the same time I cannot help suggesting that it would be extremely desirable not to lose sight of the great advantage which has hitherto been obtained from the constant check which you have kept on the Spanish fleet at Cadiz; if, however, it is necessary to make a choice between the two objects in the present state of things, the preference is wished to be given to the defeat of the purpose (whatever it may be) of the Toulon armament; but we are inclined to hope that you may find it practicable to send a detachment into the Mediterranean sufficiently strong to attain that end, and at the same time remain in a situation to watch with effect the fleet at Cadiz, till by reinforcements we can again put you in a state to block that port in the manner you have before done. If you determine to send a detachment into the Mediterranean, I think it almost unnecessary to suggest to you the propriety of putting it under the command of Sir H. Nelson, whose acquaintance with that part of the world, as well as his activity and disposition, seem to qualify him in a peculiar manner for that service. We shall take care to send you out ships which are the best suited for foreign service of any we

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have to dispose of, in order to make your fleet as effective as possible; and I trust that the first division of the reinforcement intended for you will reach you so soon as not to have given time to the enemy to combine any measures in consequence of this new disposition of our force.

In case of your preferring to enter the Mediterranean with the whole force now under your orders, you will readily perceive how highly essential it is that the earliest notice of your determination should reach us; and that orders to return to England should also as soon as possible be sent to the reinforcement which we shall have sent out to you, because by this movement we shall be exposed to the Spanish force from Cadiz coming northward, either to join the fleet at Brest, or to make a direct attack on Ireland, and it will of course be necessary to have as large a force collected as we conveniently can.

I am as strongly impressed, as I have no doubt your Lordship will be, with the hazardous nature of the measure which we now have in contemplation, but I cannot at the same time help feeling how much depends upon its success, and how absolutely necessary it is at this time to run some risk, in order, if possible, to bring about a new system of affairs in Europe, which shall save us all from being overrun by the exorbitant power of France. In this view of the subject it is impossible not to perceive how much depends on the exertions of the great Continental powers; and, without entering further into what relates more particularly to them, I can venture to assure you that no good will be obtained from them if some such measure as that now in contemplation is not immediately adopted. On the other hand, if by our appearance in the Mediterranean we can encourage Austria to come forward again, it is in the highest degree probable that the other powers will seize the opportunity of acting at the same time, and such a general concert be established as shall soon bring this great contest to a termination on grounds less unfavourable by

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many degrees to the parties concerned than appeared likely a short time since.

I have thought it necessary to enter into this reasoning on this occasion to impress your Lordship with the great urgency and importance of the measure which has now been determined upon, and to justify our calling upon you to place yourself (at least for a short time) in a situation of more difficulty than any less pressing emergency would warrant us in doing. I am, &c. (signed) SPENCER.

TO LORD ST. VINCENT.

Admiralty, 29th April, 1798.

MY LORD,

The present state of affairs rendering it absolutely necessary that the fleet and armament fitting-out at Toulon should be prevented from accomplishing its object, which, from the information received, appears either to be an attack upon Naples and Sicily, or the conveyance of an army to some part of the coast of Spain, for the purpose of marching towards Portugal; or to pass through the Straits, with a view of proceeding to Ireland: my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have judged it expedient that I should apprise your Lordship that orders will be despatched to you in the course of a very few days, for sending into the Mediterranean a force which may be competent either to defeat, or, at least, delay the departure of the said armament, in order that your Lordship may make the necessary arrangements for carrying their instructions to you into execution the moment of their arrival. The force to be despatched on this service ought, as their Lordships conceive, to consist of not less than nine or ten sail-of-the-line, meaning, nevertheless, to leave it to your Lordship to determine whether the above-mentioned object can best be attained by making a detachment from your fleet, or by proceeding yourself with your whole force

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through the Straits, whichever you shall, on due consideration, think most advisable.

In your determination on this point, your Lordship will, however, understand, that it is their Lordships wish to enable you, if possible, to continue to execute the important service of watching the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, and it will be for you to judge how far it may be safe for you to remain with the rest of your fleet on that service. With a view to render your Lordship more equal to that undertaking, a reinforcement of four or five ships-of-the-line will be sent to you immediately from hence, and the same number in about a month after the sailing of the former; and, unless information shall be received from you previously to your sailing, which may alter their destination, they will be ordered to rendezvous in the Tagus, and wait there until they shall receive instructions from you. But in the event of your proceeding with your whole force into the Mediterranean, your Lordship will be directed to send orders to the Commanders of the said ships to return, without loss of time, to England. If your Lordship should determine to *detach* into the Mediterranean, your object will be, to watch the Spanish fleet in Cadiz with the remainder of your fleet, with a view of following them, either into the Mediterranean to the northward, as they may appear to be destined, if, from the extent of their force, it should not be judged advisable to attack them.

Your Lordship will receive, under a separate cover, all the intelligence which has lately been received of the force of the enemy at Toulon, and of their preparations at that and the other places in the Mediterranean.

You will, of course, turn your thoughts towards the measures to be adopted for providing the necessary supplies for your squadron, and on this head it will be proper I should mention to you, that the ports of Naples and Sicily, and eventually those of Tuscany, will afford such supplies as can be furnished from those countries.

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The above is the general outline of the intended orders, but the various points of detail will be left to your Lordship to consider and digest. It will be particularly desirable that your ideas upon the several subjects, and the determination you may form, either of going yourself into the Mediterranean, or detaching a part of your squadron thither, should, as soon as possible, be communicated to me; and that such places of rendezvous be settled as may be necessary to guide their Lordships under the different circumstances which may be likely to arise, for which purpose your Lordship will hasten the return of the cutter by which this is conveyed to you as much as possible; and you will also transmit without delay information of your intentions, under cover, to His Majesty's Minister at Lisbon, that the same may be forwarded to me.

I have, &c. E. NEPEAN.

Three days afterwards further letters were sent to Lord St. Vincent, very similar to the preceding, except that his Lordship was directed to "despatch some discreet Flag-officer so soon as Sir Roger Curtis had joined," his Lordship being directed to "continue himself with the rest of his squadron, in execution of the more important services committed to his care."

TO EARL SPENCER.

Ville de Paris, at anchor before Cadiz, 1st May, 1798.

MY LORD,

I do assure your Lordship that the arrival of Admiral Nelson has given me new life; you could not have gratified me more than in sending him. His presence in the Mediterranean is so very essential, that I mean to put the Orion and Alexander under his command, with the addition of three or four frigates, and to send him away (the moment the Vanguard has delivered her water to the in-shore

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squadron) to endeavour to ascertain the real object of the preparations making by the French, which Captain Day, who is an intelligent man, seems positive are intended against Ireland.

Captain Downman I found in the Victory. He was recommended to me by Lord Hugh Seymour, and has proved himself worthy his protection; and it is with great pleasure I can assure you that the present nine Lieutenants of the Ville de Paris are men capable of filling any situation.

With your Lordship's permission, I will remove Lieutenant Miller, who is a good young man, out of the cutter you have been so good to name after me, — for cutters are the ruin and destruction of every Lieutenant who is put into them; and the masters of hired ones always conduct them best.

Should it be determined to keep this fleet here at all hazards, when Portugal concludes her peace, which I fear she will do on the most ignominious terms, if Spain approves them, there will be a necessity for my receiving instructions from the Board to remove the stores and provisions to Gibraltar; and some general directions given to my friend O'Hara to protect them, for he is so tremblingly alive to the idea of inducing a cannonade and bombardment, that, until lately, he suffered the Spanish gun-boats to approach the batteries with impunity, and went so far as to threaten an officer with arrest who fired upon them when they were attacking one of our frigates very near the works; and the recent death of the Marquis de Robon, Commandant at the Lines, with whom he lived upon the best terms, and who was a liberal-minded man, and a good Officer, will make his situation more critical.

The person to succeed me should possess both temper and good nerves, or he will be in continual hot-water, and terrified at this anchorage, which appals many a good fellow under my command whenever the fleet is driven by

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stress of weather or accident to take shelter within the Mediterranean, for it cannot rely on any resource from Portugal, which will be entirely (as it is, in truth, at this instant) governed by Spain: Tetuan Bay under sail, or even at an anchor with a westerly wind, taking care to get under weigh on the appearance of an easterly wind or a swell from that quarter, appears the only expedient. A few ships at a time may anchor safely in Rosier Bay with good ground-tackle, which was not the case, as acknowledged by the Navy Board, when we met with such fatal accidents; and an officer of ability and firmness (might I presume to name the person, it should be Sir John Colpoys) may do a great deal, if Spain does not bombard and cannonade the Rock, in the event of which the depôt of provisions and stores will infallibly be destroyed, and no ship ride in Rosier Bay without being exposed to shells. This is the best opinion I have to offer to your Lordship upon prospective circumstances, and I greatly lament being obliged to make use of an amanuensis to copy it, my health suffering exceedingly from sitting too long at the pen. I have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem,

Your Lordship's very faithful and obedient servant,

ST. VINCENT.

(Most secret and confidential.)

TO SIR HORATIO NELSON, K.B.

Rear-Admiral of the Blue, &c.

By the Earl of ST. VINCENT, K.B., Admiral of the Blue, &c.

Ville de Paris, 2nd May, 1798.

WHEREAS, I have received certain intelligence that a considerable armament is making at Toulon, and a number of transports collecting at Marseilles and Genoa, for an embarkation of troops. You are hereby authorised and

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required to proceed with such of the squadron under your orders as may be at Gibraltar up the Mediterranean, and endeavour to ascertain by every means in your power, either upon the coast of Provence or Genoa, the object of the equipment, the destination of which is differently spoken of, — such as the islands of Sicily and Corfu on the one hand, Portugal or Ireland on the other; and in the latter event, that it is to join a squadron of Spanish ships, said to be equipping at Carthagena; to which you will also have attention: and in case of your receiving any information which you may judge of importance to communicate to me, you are to despatch the Bonne Citoyenne or Terpsichore with it; and continue on this service, with the rest of the squadron, as long as you may think necessary, and your stock of water will enable you to do, taking especial care, should this armament be coming down the Mediterranean, not to suffer it to pass the Straits before you, so as to prevent your joining me in time to impede an union between it and the Spanish fleet in Cadiz Bay.

ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, before Cadiz, 3rd May, 1798.

SIR,

I beg leave to call their Lordships' attention to the deplorable state of the . That ship, in the short space of time she has been with us, though the fastest sailer, and possessing the best inanimate qualities of any ship in the fleet, has thrown away two sets of topmasts and three jib-booms, with an incredible quantity of stores, and, in all probability, would have rolled or pitched her lower masts away at this anchorage, had not I ordered Mr. Jackson, Master of the Ville de Paris, on board, to stay her masts, set up the rigging, and make the necessary arrange-

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ments for the due care of the masts, rigging, and expenditure of stores. The scene of anarchy, confusion, and disorder which obtained throughout the ship, more especially in the ward-room, would be frightful to detail. I have removed all the Lieutenants but one, who was left at the request of Captain , against my judgment. The Commander of this ship is a man of talent, and, I believe, would expose his person in the most spirited manner; and these qualities might be employed to advantage in the defence of our own coasts, or in porcupining those of the enemy: here he is lost, and the ship an incumbrance instead of a reinforcement. Should it please the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to employ him in projecting, and replace him by Captain Brown, late of the Defence, she would soon be equal to any ship in this fleet.

I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H. M. S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, May 10th, 1798.

SIR,

I have this moment received your "most secret" despatch of the 29th April, and enclosures, the importance of which I am fully impressed with. Rear-admiral Nelson having sailed from Gibraltar on Tuesday last, with as large a detachment as the successful continuance of the blockade would admit, for the purpose of obtaining authentic intelligence of the object of the preparations making on the coast of Provence and Genoa, (a copy of whose orders is enclosed,) I conceive that I shall act more conformably to the scope of their Lordships' views by continuing in my present position, until I receive the whole of the reinforcements in contemplation, and I shall send orders to Lisbon to complete them, as they arrive, to six months' provisions of all species, previous to their proceeding to join me.

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In the meanwhile, I am taking every precaution in my power to prevent the French, from Toulon and Genoa, passing the Straits, it being my intention on receiving intelligence of the approach of the enemy, to take a new position of anchorage under Cape Spartel, if the soundings will admit, of which Lord Henry Paulet, Captain of His Majesty's ship the Thalia, is employed taking a survey.

I beg leave to call the attention of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to the deficiency of frigates to perform the present necessary services; less than twenty efficient frigates will not be sufficient for the extensive prospective operations. With these, and eight additional sail-of-the-line, a detachment may be made, and the blockade of Cadiz maintained.

It is with great regret I acquaint you, for their Lordships' information, that my health has so rapidly declined of late, it is very unequal to the exertions I have hitherto made, of which I acquainted Lord Spencer by letter of the 15th April, and requested to be relieved as soon as possible.

I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO EARL SPENCER.

H. M. S. Ville de Paris, at anchor before Cadiz, 10th May, 1798.

MY LORD,

Desirous as I am that your Lordship should have the earliest intelligence of the dispositions I have already made to ascertain the real objects of the preparations making on the coast of Provence and Genoa, with my hasty reflections on the letter I have received from Mr. Nepean, I will not detain the cutter a moment longer than is necessary for these purposes in course. I have not time to enter into all the political reasoning contained in your letter of the 29th

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April, the whole of which was discussed between Lord Minto and me in Lagos Bay, and he engaged to convey it to your Lordship, and to say, that with thirty sail-of-the-line, and a proportionate number of frigates, I would undertake the service off Cadiz and Toulon. I have on different occasions since re-stated those opinions, and Sir Robert Calder assured me on his return to the fleet, that he had implicitly obeyed the instructions I gave him on this head. The anxiety I underwent during this last winter, in not having a force adequate to both these services, with the miserable and fluctuating state of the politics of Portugal, preyed upon my health, and reduced me to the languid state I am now in. The very great reduction of frigates has also contributed to work me, for I have not been able to cover the Mediterranean as I wished to have done, to check the insolence of the enemy's frigates and privateers, and to gain intelligence; in truth, I have not sufficient to line the coasts of Portugal and Spain. With the addition of eight or nine ships-of-the-line, well commanded, and the number of frigates I have named, a detachment of ten or eleven sail-of-the-line may be made; and in expectation of this reinforcement, I will send orders to Sir Horatio Nelson to join me as expeditiously as possible, consistently with the object of his mission, and I have little doubt of his arriving in time to command the detachment.

Your Lordship may rely on the exertion of my remaining powers until I am permitted to recruit them by a short repose, and exemption from all care and responsibility, without which, I despair of ever being able to serve my country again with energy. I have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem, your Lordship's very faithful and obedient servant.

ST. VINCENT.

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(Most secret.)

TO SIR HORATIO NELSON, K.B.

Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

By command of the Admiral. (G. Purvis.)

By the Earl St. Vincent, K.B. Admiral of the Blue, &c.

IN pursuance of instructions I have received from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to employ a squadron of His Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, under the command of a discreet officer, copies of which are enclosed, (and of other papers necessary for your guidance,) and in conformity thereto, I do hereby authorize and require you, on being joined by the ships named in the margin, to take them and their Captains under your command, in addition to those already with you, and to proceed with them in quest of the armament preparing by the enemy at Toulon and Genoa, the object whereof appears to be, either an attack on Naples or Sicily,—the conveyance of an army to some part of the coast of Spain, for the purpose of marching against Portugal, or to pass through the Straits, with a view of proceeding to Ireland. On falling in with the said armaments, or any part thereof, you are to use your utmost endeavours to take, sink, burn, or destroy them.

Should it appear to you from good authority, on your arrival up the Mediterranean, that the enemy's force, capable of being sent to sea, should be inferior to what is reported by the intelligence herewith transmitted, you are in this case to direct such ships to rejoin me as may not absolutely be required to insure your superiority, the moment you shall find yourself in a situation so to do.

On the subject of supplies I enclose a copy of their Lordships order to me, and do require you strictly to com-

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ply with the spirit of it, by considering and treating as hostile any parts within the Mediterranean (those of Sardinia excepted) where provisions, or other articles you may be in want of, and which they are enabled to furnish, shall be refused; and you are to treat in like manner, and capture the ships and vessels of Powers or States adhering to His Majesty's enemies, or, under other circumstances enumerated in the said Order, determining, to the best of your judgment, upon the several cases under this head that may occur during your command.

You are to remain upon this service so long as the provisions of your squadron will last, or as long as you may be enabled to obtain supplies from any of the ports in the Mediterranean; and when, from the want of provisions, you shall be no longer able to remain within the Straits, or in the event of the enemy's armament escaping to the westward of you, (which you will take especial care to prevent,) you are to lose no time in rejoining me, wherever I may be.

Given, &c. H.M.S. Ville de Paris, before Cadiz, 21st May, 1798. ST. VINCENT.

TO LADY HAMILTON.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, at anchor before Cadiz, 22nd May, 1798.

MADAM,

I feel myself highly honoured and flattered by your Ladyship's charming letter of the 15th April. The picture you have drawn of the lovely Queen of Naples and the Royal family, would rouse the indignation of the most unfeeling of the creation, at the infernal designs of those devils, who, for the scourge of the human race, are permitted to govern France. I am bound by my oath of chivalry to protect all who are persecuted and distressed, and I would fly to the succour of their Sicilian Majesties, were I not positively forbid to quit my post before Cadiz. I am

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happy, however, to have a knight of superior prowess in my train, who is charged with this enterprize, and will soon make his appearance, at the head of as gallant a band as ever drew sword or trailed pike.

Your true knight, and devoted humble servant,

ST. VINCENT.

FROM REAR-ADMIRAL NELSON.

May 8th, 1798.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have in fact no farther particulars to tell you than are in my public letter. They order their matters so well in France, that all is secret. The bearer is the young man recommended by our friend Lloyd. We are all healthy, and in good humour. I sincerely hope this will find you fixed to remain our chief. Without a compliment, none will be found that has so much the confidence of his fleet. As to what may become of us to-morrow, who can say? but rest assured of my zealous endeavours to meet your wishes. Pray have the goodness to forward the enclosed, and ever believe me your most obliged and affectionate,

HORATIO NELSON.

9 A.M.

You will see by Sir J. Saumarez' account, that cavalry are embarked. Having all we know, you will form your own conjectures.

TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, K.B. ETC.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, before Cadiz, 22nd May, 1798.

SIR,

I am this instant honoured with your Excellency's letter of the April. I conclude, the privateer had a

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long passage, because Lady Hamilton's most obliging letter is dated the 15th, and the Transfer, sloop-of-war, by which this is conveyed, has only been twenty-four hours from Gibraltar.

Without entering into the wretched policy which has placed the Two Sicilies in the situation they are, with respect to the devastating system of this insolent overbearing Republic, I have a powerful squadron ready to fly to the assistance of Naples, the moment I receive a reinforcement from the S.W. of Ireland, which is on its passage hither, and I hourly look for its appearance, with the utmost degree of anxiety and impatience. Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson will command this force, which is composed of the *élite* of the Navy of England. Sir George Byng (Lord Torrington) did not make a better choice, when he was charged by George (I.) with a very important mission to the same coasts; and I have no doubt of the event being equally propitious to His Majesty's arms. I am prohibited by my orders from quitting this position, which the mistaken policy of Spain has made necessary.

Have the goodness to lay me at the feet of their Majesties, and assure them of my most profound respect, and that I will exert every nerve for the preservation of their august persons and dominions. Say everything kind to General Acton for me, and be assured I am, with the most perfect regard and esteem, your Excellency's, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

MEMORANDUM.

Ville de Paris, 28th May, 1798.

THE Commander-in-chief positively directs that no sick are kept below the upper-deck of any line-of-battle-ship under his command, and that a sick berth is prepared in

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each under the forecastle, on the starboard side, with the round-house enclosed for the use of the sick, and the First-Lieutenants, Surgeons, and Carpenters of each ship are directed to repair on board the Ville de Paris and inspect the sick berth, in order to prepare theirs in like manner.

ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 31st May, 1798.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 16th ultimo, with the enclosures from Lord Grenville's office, relative to the escape of slaves from Malta into His Majesty's ships. I have to observe thereupon, that from the days of the renowned Blake to this hour it has been the pride and glory of the Officers of His Majesty's Navy to give freedom to slaves wherever they carried the British flag; and God forbid that such a divine maxim should fade under me. It has been the practice in all the ports in the Mediterranean, time immemorial, on the approach of a British ship of war, for the Governors to give notice to the owners of slaves to keep them in confinement until the departure of such ship.

When I commanded the Alarm, two Tunisian slaves who leaped into her launch, when watering at the font in the Mole of Genoa, were forced out of the boat by the guard on the Mole, although one of them had wrapped the pendant round his waist; the moment the report was made to me, I demanded of the Doge and Senate that the slaves should be brought on board immediately, with the part of the torn pendant which the slave carried off with him, the Officer of the guard punished, and an apology made on the Quarter-deck of the Alarm, under the King's colours, for the outrage offered to the rights of the British Nation.

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After this was performed, I asked the slave who had wrapped the pendant round his body, what were his sensations when the guard tore him from the pendant staff; his reply was, that he felt no dread, for he knew that the touch of the royal colours gave him freedom. To the rest of the charge I have only to reply, that the ships I have the honour to command never continue long enough in any port to occasion much inconvenience or loss to the owners of slaves. I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

It appears by an Admiralty minute that a copy of this was sent to Lord Grenville in answer to his letter.

STANDING ORDER.—TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 3rd June, 1798.

IT having appeared to the Commander-in-chief, on his reading the minutes of the proceedings of a late Court-martial, that an erroneous opinion obtains amongst the Lieutenants, and other inferior Officers of the ships under his command, that the beat-to-quarters, unless accompanied by a call from the mate or midshipman of the watch, is not a sufficient notice:

They are hereby instructed, that it is the duty of every Officer in the fleet to use the utmost expedition to his quarters, when the drum beats to that effect, and no excuse short of illness, attested by the Surgeon, will in future be admitted in justification of so flagrant a neglect of the most important branch of their duty. ST. VINCENT.

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STANDING ORDER.—TO THE RESPECTIVE CAPTAINS.

N.B.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 20th June, 1798.

ALL boats attending on Officers within the garrison, either on public or private business, to put off from the shore at sunset, and repair immediately on board their respective ships, application being made to the Governor to confine every seaman, marine, or soldier belonging to the fleet, who shall be found within the gates after the first gun firing; and all officers happening to be ashore at this time are enjoined to enforce this order. ST. VINCENT.

TO LIEUTENANT

Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 22nd June, 1798.

SIR,

If you do not immediately make a suitable apology to Commissioner Inglefield for the abominable neglect and disrespect you have treated him with, I will represent your behaviour to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and recommend your name to be struck off the list of Lieutenants. I am, &c. ST. VINCENT.

MEMORANDUM.

Ville de Paris, 23rd June, 1798.

THE Commander-in-chief finds himself under the painful necessity of thus publicly reprimanding the Captains and of his Majesty's ships and for neglect of duty in not maintaining the station assigned to them during the last night by the orders and signals of Captain Murray and of the Admiral. ST. VINCENT.

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MEMORANDUM.

Ville de Paris, 14th July, 1798.

IT is very painful to the Commander-in-chief to have occasion to pass a public censure on many of the Officers who commanded boats of the fleet this morning, by whose misconduct a brilliant *coup* has been missed, and a disgrace * brought on His Majesty's arms.

In future the Lieutenants for this duty are to be selected, and none but officers of approved firmness employed, who will be sure of their reward for any successful enterprize they exhibit. ST. VINCENT.

MEMORANDUM.

Ville de Paris, 15th July, 1798.

THERE being nothing so pregnant with dangerous consequences, or so disgraceful to an Officer in arms, as a surprise, should the like happen again to any of the boats of the fleet, it will undergo the most rigid inquiry before a Court-martial. ST. VINCENT.

TO SIR HORATIO NELSON.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, before Cadiz, 17th July, 1798.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL,

Your letters and papers which came in the last packet (and are sent by Sargent) will inform you of what is doing at home. The French have missed their *coup* in Ireland, and I rather think the different insurrections there will end well, by a discovery of the whole train and all the leaders

* The capture of the St. George's launch.

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in it; the deluded people will see their error, and become good subjects.

Sir William Parker and Sir John Orde have written strong remonstrances against your commanding the detached squadron instead of them. I did all I could to prevent it, consistently with my situation, but there is a faction, fraught with all manner of ill-will to you, that, unfortunately for the two Baronets, domined over any argument or influence I could use: they will both be ordered home the moment their letters arrive; the first-named I mean to send in the Blenheim, the last in the Excellent,—Collingwood and he being countrymen and friends.

You will find Captain Dixon, of the Lion, an attentive Officer, and his ship in better order than most of those lately joined; she is something like your old Agamemnon, and will, I know, prove useful.

Yours, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, before Cadiz, 8th Sept. 1798.

SIR,

Feelings of humanity prompt me to desire you will represent to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Captain Paul Marshall, of the Marines, invalided from the Centaur, as per enclosed order of report, suffers occasionally such excruciating pain from the wound he received, as to render it highly improper he should embark any more; and in consideration of his wounds and services, I beg leave to recommend him to their Lordships as a fit object to retire on full pay, that his wife and family may not be deprived of the pension at his death.

I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

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TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, before Cadiz, 12th Sept. 1798.

SIR,

I enclose a report of the Carpenter of the Ville de Paris, of caulking, &c., performed by the artificers of the squadron on the fourteen ships named in the margin, during the present summer, while at anchor before Cadiz. The Princess-Royal was caulked by the artificers of Gibraltar Yard during the stay she made there, which was rather long; and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I do not believe the history of naval affairs will show an instance of the same number of ships, after having been five and six months out of port, being in so complete a state of repair, and fitness for service in all respects, with six months' provisions of all species on board, except wine and bread, of which they have as much as they can possibly stow, and complete in their water. Strict regulations have been introduced touching the rigging and masts, both which have, for some years past, suffered in an extreme degree by unskilful management, arising from the modern First-lieutenants arrogantly usurping the business of the Masters and Boatswains, and performing their peculiar duty ignorantly, in violation of the instructions given to those classes of Officers; and I hope their Lordships will not think I go too far in requesting that some general public measure may be taken on this subject. I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

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TO REAR-ADMIRAL SIR HORATIO NELSON, K.B.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, before Cadiz, 27th Sept. 1798.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL,

God be praised! and you and your gallant band rewarded by a grateful Country! for the greatest achievement the history of the world can produce. I most sincerely lament the loss of Captain Westcott, and the number of brave Officers and men who have fallen on the occasion.

Sir John Orde conducted himself in such a manner towards me, I was compelled to send him to England, and he sailed from the Tagus on the 13th, accompanied by the Kingfisher, with a convoy of eighty or ninety sail, — so indignant that he has applied for a Court-martial to try me for some offence, the scene of which lay at Gibraltar, when you were there with him, — and for some expressions I am said to have made use of to Sir William Parker about the sentence of a Court-martial; but the original sin was, appointing you to command the detached squadron, the event of which has proved that my judgment was correct.

At this distance I can give you no sense as to prospective events; in truth, you want none, and will do much better by following your own impulse. I think you had better keep the Alexander, if you can get her masted, for it is upon the cards, that the French will send the squadron they have ready at Brest to the Mediterranean, when Lord Bridport is driven up-Channel, or off his station, by the autumn gales.

Tell Lady Hamilton I rely on her to administer to your health at Naples, where, I have no doubt, it will soon be re-established. For this, and every other blessing, you have the most fervent wishes of, my dear Admiral,

Yours very affectionately, ST. VINCENT.

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TO JOHN HARNESS, ESQ. M.D.

Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 2nd October, 1798.

SIR,

I rely upon you, as a man of character, which I believe you to be, to assist me in putting an end to all jobbing in hospitals under my direction; and that no person exercising any duty within an hospital receives anything by way of perquisite or emolument, or other abuse, except his wages, which, if not sufficient, I am ready to make an addition to. I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO CAPTAIN

Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, 4th October, 1798.

SIR,

Your second letter adds considerably to my dissatisfaction, because, in our conversation this morning, you proposed to take a passage to Lisbon in the Excellent, where you will be sure to find La Sensible soon; I therefore expect you will not hesitate a moment longer to carry this measure into execution; and I have to observe, that it is not my custom to submit to these discussions, which, out of attention to you, I have gone thus far in, but it must end here. I am, &c. ST. VINCENT.

FROM LADY SPENCER.

Admiralty, October 7th, 1798.

ALTHOUGH I am conscious that by thus addressing your Lordship I trespass on time the best disposed of, yet I find it impossible to resist the eager impulse I feel to congratulate you on the splendid deed of our friend, Lord Nelson.

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I do, indeed, participate in the joy you must feel at so glorious a result of the happy arrangements which enabled him to execute this dazzling exploit. Never did disinterested zeal and friendship meet with a brighter reward than yours has reaped in this victory of your gallant friend. He could not fail of success, as he says himself, when you had placed him to command such a constellation of heroes; and for ever will your country, my Lord, venerate the wisdom of a choice they so admirably justified. I am sure it must be needless to attempt expressing to your Lordship my delight at the recollection of the last eighteen months. Lord Spencer's naval administration has witnessed during that period three victories, which, since naval records have been kept in this or any other country, are not to be equalled. Your magnificent achievement saved this Country; Lord Duncan's saved Ireland; and I must hope Lord Nelson's saves India. In short, independent of the valour, skill, and intrepidity which these triumphant instances of British superiority have proved, their *à-propos* has been something too remarkable not to suppose that a merciful Providence especially protects us.

I trust your Lordship will excuse my having so long interrupted you, and believe me, with the highest regard and esteem,

Your Lordship's much obliged obedient servant,

LAVINIA SPENCER.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Gibraltar, 14th October, 1798.

SIR,

I desire you will represent to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that General O'Hara has not yet received instructions from his Grace the Duke of Portland to direct Major Fyers to give his assistance in constructing the tank, which I am the more distressed at because the

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scarcity of water is so great at this moment; all the reservoirs are not sufficient to furnish the daily consumption of the few ships of war and transports now here, much less are we able to fill water for the service in contemplation; and were the hospital full of sick or of wounded seamen, I do not know how they would be supplied; it therefore becomes absolutely necessary that not only the tank, which their Lordships have approved, but the hospital reservoirs, should be entered upon without a moment's delay. The roof of the building is so extensive, that plenty of water will be conveyed from it to fill the reservoirs during the rainy season, and this will be a great resource in times of exigency, which must increase because of the continual invasion of the surface of the red sand by military roads, &c.

I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

FROM LORD NELSON.

Begun October 19th, 1798; ended

MY DEAR LORD,

Had Leander got to you, perhaps you would have been overwhelmed with my private letters upon numerous subjects, but of which I have no copies, on the subject of our dear friend Troubridge, and on my sending Capel to England, and putting Hoste into the * . I should have been glad you had received my letter: on the former, it was authorising you to add a paragraph to my public letter, if you thought it more to the advantage of Troubridge, but I thought it better to make no mention of his disaster, for I consider Captain Troubridge's conduct as fully entitled to praise as any one Officer in the squadron, and as highly deserving reward: he commanded a division equally with Sir James Saumarez, by my order of June; and I should feel distressed if any honour is granted to one that

* The word is obliterated.

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is not granted to the other. This part, I write you, my dear Lord, to make use of to Lord Spencer, should any difference be made. I know the Knight has wrote to the First Lord, but the eminent services of our friend deserve the very highest rewards. I have experienced the ability and activity of his mind and body: it was Troubridge that equipped the squadron so soon at Syracuse—it was he that exerted himself for me after the action—it was Troubridge who saved the Culloden, when none that I know in the service would have attempted it—it was Troubridge whom I left as myself at Naples to watch movements—he is, as a friend and an officer, a *nonpareil!*

Off Malta, 24th. The French are not likely to quit the island. The Marquis is going direct for Naples; he deserves credit for quitting his ship and hoisting his flag in another, in order to continue the blockade. God bless you! HORATIO NELSON.

TO JOHN THOMAS DUCKWORTH, ESQ.

Commodore, &c.

(Secret instructions.)

YOU are to make the best of your way with the squadron, transports, ordnance storeships, and army victuallers under your orders, to the north side of the island of Minorca; but, in order to mask the object of the enterprise, I recommend your keeping on the African shore until you are to the eastward of Cape Tres-forcas; and as it will not be advisable to give out your rendezvous while in Gibraltar Bay, (for obvious reasons,) this measure may be taken when you are to the eastward of Ceuta Point, at such a distance as to be out of view from thence.

I conceive you will run less risk of discovering to the enemy where the expedition is intended for, by passing between Cape Antonio and the island of Yvra, than by

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approaching the island of Majorca, where there is a better police maintained than in the other islands, and a larger body of troops; I therefore advise your keeping well to the northward of it, (the land being very high, and ships seen at a great distance,) taking care not to be carried to the eastward of the port of Fornells, in the island of Minorca, (the only place of security for the attack of the island at this season of the year,) to enter which the prevailing north-west winds are very favourable. I suggest to you, that a couple of ships, detached to take post at the entrance of Mahon harbour, may be the means of preventing the escape of any naval force that may be lying there; and it will be indispensably necessary to place ships before Ciudadella, that no reinforcement of troops may be thrown into the island.

In case of success, of which I do not entertain the smallest doubt, you will immediately detach a small frigate, or sloop of war, to Naples, to apprise Sir William Hamilton, His Majesty's Minister at that Court, and Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, of the event; and you will employ the crews of the line-of-battle ships in co-operating with the General to fortify posts, and on such other services as may tend to maintain possession of the island, stationing your frigates in such a manner as to give you information of any hostile approach, having always an eye to Fornells.

It is scarcely necessary to touch upon the importance of preserving the strictest harmony between the Army and Navy in this expedition, and at all times, — your own disposition, that of Captain Markham, and all the Captains under your orders, being adapted to it in a very remarkable degree; and having so thorough a knowledge of the honour, zeal, and uncommon talents of General Stuart and his staff, I have the fullest confidence in the final issue being propitious to the utmost extent of the expectations the King and His Majesty's Ministers have formed thereupon.

Should the chance of war, by any unforeseen event,

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occasion a failure in the present projected expedition, it is my positive instructions, that you do comply, to the utmost of your power, and co-operate with General the Honourable Charles Stuart in any other plan of attack or defence which he may suggest, be it for the reduction of the island of Malta, the protection of the Two Sicilies, or wheresoever the services of the forces under his command may be employed most advantageously for His Majesty and his Allies.

Given on board L'Aurore, Gibraltar, 20th Oct. 1798.

ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

H.M.S. Le Souveraine, Gibraltar, 4th Nov. 1798.

SIR,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the Defence is caulked, her lower masts in, and rigged; and the Majestic has her fore and main-mast in, and her outside caulked. The Bellerophon, being more cut up in her hull than either of those ships, will not be taken in hand until we have done with *them*, which, I hope, will happen in the course of this week, for both the shipwrights and caulkers of this little arsenal possess great ability and despatch. We are preparing an entire suit of sail for each of the line-of-battle ships which was in the action of the Nile, and continued with Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson; and they will be sent up in the Medusa, with a few cables and topmasts, as soon as the Santa Dorotea arrives from Lisbon to give protection.

I am, Sir, &c. ST. VINCENT.

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TO LORD NELSON, K.B.

Rosia House, Gibraltar, 21st Nov. 1798.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL,

Much of the matter conveyed in the enclosed copy of instructions from the Admiralty, dated the 3rd October, is already decided upon, and what relates to the co-operation with the armies of the Allied Powers cannot be in better hands than yours: the thorough knowledge you possess of the local, and of the disposition of the contracting parties, qualifying you most eminently for the uncontrolled direction of the naval part; and you have some very able men under your command, in whom, you must know, every degree of confidence is to be placed when you have occasion to make detachments.

The possession of Minorca will greatly aid the blockade of Toulon, if the season will admit of that operation; and, in case of success, you are authorised to take Commodore Duckworth under your command, and employ him and the squadron under his orders on that service. The three bombs and their tenders may be useful at Corfu and Zante: and at a convenient time, you will certainly not forget what is due to your friends at Genoa.

I heartily congratulate you, my dear Lord, on the title the King has been pleased to bestow on you, which has come to my knowledge since the commencement of this letter, as you may see, and I remain

Yours most faithfully, ST. VINCENT.

TO EARL SPENCER.

Rosia House, Gibraltar, 25th November, 1798.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's distinction, touching the First-lieutenant of the Culloden, is very just, for it certainly would

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establish a precedent, liable to great abuse. At the same time that I admire the distinction, I beg leave to remind you of the very eminent services of the Culloden after she took the ground, the promptitude of making the signal to avoid the danger prevented the Alexander and Swiftsure from being inevitably wrecked, and, in course, contributed largely to the ultimate glorious success. The Culloden made one hundred and twenty tons of water per hour, yet, by the astonishing resources of her Captain, and the happy manner he possesses of making his Officers and men think and act like himself, the ship was preserved, and the damages since repaired at Castel del Mare. Nor was Captain Troubridge's attention entirely taken up with his own ship, when in such critical circumstances off the Nile, for, after the action, he obtained sheep and other refreshments, for the wounded men of other ships, conducted the exchange of prisoners, and assisted in jury-masting our own dismantled ships, and the prizes: I therefore shall obey your Lordship's commands in respect to the First-lieutenant, with inexpressible satisfaction. I have already gratified him highly by making his clerk Purser of the Seahorse; this, and the promotion of his First-lieutenant having been nearest his heart.

Permit me to name Mr. Cathcart the surviving senior Lieutenant of the Bellerophon as an Officer highly deserving the reward, which would have been the lot of Mr. Daniel, had he survived the action. The wording of the Secretary's letter upon these occasions confines the Commander-in-chief to give the commissions to those only who were First-lieutenants at the commencement of the action; but it appears to me, that it is the surviving senior Lieutenant's fair inheritance. I have the honour to be, with the truest esteem and regard, your Lordships very faithful and obedient servant, ST. VINCENT.

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TO CAPTAIN TROUBRIDGE, H.M.S. CULLODEN.

Rosia House, Gibraltar, 26th November, 1798.

DEAR TROUBRIDGE,

The distinction which Lord Spencer has made, touching the First-lieutenant of the Culloden, (as per enclosed,) is a just one, for had he promoted him with the others, some future Commander-in-chief, or gambling member of Parliament, might quote it as a precedent for a bad purpose; he will be much better off than to go on half-pay, for I shall place him in a good sloop the moment I have an opportunity; and seniority upon that vile list is no boast, nor can be of any service to any man.

The tide runs strongly in our favour in every part of the universe, and I trust, with the blessing of God, we shall bring the devils to reason. Yours most truly,

ST. VINCENT.

TO COMMISSIONER COFFIN.

In his absence, to Mr. Chiene, Master-Attendant.

Rosia House, Gibraltar, November 29th, 1798.

DEAR COFFIN,

Mr. Israel and Captain Bulley are accused of having two of our seamen concealed in the hold of the Good Hope, for three weeks, before she sailed from the Tagus, and it is certain that two have been made to bolt out of her hold here,—said Bulley asserts, that you and Captain Murray, of the Colossus, were apprized of these two men being on board the Good Hope, and gave sanction to it. I give little credit to Jews of either Old or New Testament,

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and am a complete infidel on the subject of seamen, since the battle of the Nile, and the subsequent abominable conduct of certain countrymen of yours at Naples, who inveigled a great number of men from the Vanguard, Culloden, and Thalia, particularly the Master of the ship John of Salem, whose broker and crimp, an American Vice-consul, Troubridge has in confinement. If Mr. Israel and his Bulley do not clear this matter up to your satisfaction, I will write to Mr. Maniche to turn Israel out of Lisbon.

Yours most truly, ST. VINCENT.

TO THE MARQUIS DE NIZA.

H.M.S. Ville de Paris, in the Tagus, 1st December, 1798.

MY LORD MARQUIS,

After the many gracious marks of favour and kindness I have received at the hands of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Brazils, through the obliging intercession of his Ministers, nothing short of the present occasion could influence me again to intrude upon His Royal Highness. Monsieur Durepaire, late an Officer in the Regiment Montemar, of the brave Garde de Corps, who so nobly and gallantly preserved for a time the sacred life of the Queen of France, by falling, covered with wounds, in defending the door of Her Majesty's ante-chamber at Versailles, when attacked by a band of ruffians, hired by the Duke of Orleans to assassinate the King and Queen, is by a reform the Ministers of Great Britain have judged necessary to make in the army, reduced to a pittance barely sufficient to convey him out of the kingdom of Portugal,—his cause must interest the feelings of every gentleman in Europe, and I am ready and willing to settle an annuity upon him, out of my private fortune. I have the honour to be, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

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TO COMMODORE .

Rosia House, Gibraltar, 11th December, 1798.

DEAR ,

You cannot be right in your head, or you never would have appointed anything in the shape of a Commissioner; with all the power I am armed, I would not do such a thing for my right hand. Bear your success with moderation, and show more forbearance in matters of promotion, for you fill the heads of the people you give orders to with expectations which I cannot fulfil.

When the war expands itself along the coast of Italy, which may be hourly expected, if the Emperor of Germany does not fail us, you will receive orders from Lord Nelson, who is invested with the command of everything above Cape Palos. I think it probable that he will make a squadron up for you in the spring of the year, to form the blockade of Toulon; and should you be ordered on that service, remember, that when you are not able to keep Cape Sycie on board, with the wind out of the Gulf of Lyons, which blows impetuously both in spring and summer, you have nothing for it but to run under the lee of the Levant island, (the easternmost of the islands of Hieres,) and keep working there until the wind moderates.

Yours sincerely, ST. VINCENT.

TO WILLIAM JERVIS, ESQ.

Rosia House, Gibraltar, December 13, 1798.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Many thanks for your kind letter on that unparalleled event of the first of August, which, if there is any vigour

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in the north of Europe, will stop these mad Republicans in their career, and give peace to Europe.

The reduction of Minorca was a measure absolutely necessary, to give shelter and protection to our own fleet, and the auxiliary squadrons acting with us, the harbour of Portmahon being by far the most secure and commodious in these seas; and you will be pleased to learn that the plan, and mode of execution, originated in your brother. I am straining every nerve to maintain the island, and to furnish Lord Nelson with the means of destroying the French frigates and transports in the Bay of Alexandria, reducing Malta, Corfu, and the other French possessions in the Morea, and to enable his Lordship to co-operate with the Imperial and Neapolitan army in creating a counter-revolution in the Roman State, Lombardy, Genoa, and Piedmont. These will appear to you very extensive objects, but if engaged in with system and perseverance, must succeed. I have great pride in having made good the defects in the worst-treated ships in the battle of the Nile, at this place. The Bellerophon, which was more mauled than any ship I ever saw, will leave this place the latter end of the present month, as good a ship as she ever was. The Majestic and Defence have gone through their repairs, and are now before Cadiz, under the command of Sir Roger Curtis. Great exertions and resources are required upon these occasions, for the Officers and men always want to go home to recount their feats after a glorious victory; and the Officers of the Dock-yards shrink from works of so much labour: but, by being on the spot, I have got the better of all these obstacles, and the ships are much better fitted than if they had been in England. Be assured I am

Yours most affectionately, ST. VINCENT.

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TO DON RODRIGO DE SOUZA DE COTINHO.

Le Souverain, Gibraltar, 22nd December, 1798.

SIR,

If there is a man on earth or sea better formed and qualified than another for acting in concert with Allied Powers, Lord Nelson is that man! I therefore rely on your Excellency to remove any impression that the Marquis' letter may have made on His Royal Highness the Prince of Brazils; and I beg you will assure His Royal Highness, that it has been my constant study to encourage and protect every subject of Portugal with whom I have been connected in service, or who has accidentally come in my way. I have the honour to be, with the truest esteem and regard, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant, ST. VINCENT.

TO THE COUNTESS SPENCER.

Rosia House, Gibraltar, 23rd December, 1798.

INDEED, Madam, Lord Spencer's administration of the Admiralty has been the most auspicious to His Majesty's Arms of any on naval record; and I am happy to be considered by your Ladyship as an humble instrument of a part of it, in the selection I made of the gallant band who achieved the victory of the first of August, to which the memorable action fought by Sir George Byng near the Phare of Messina bears some resemblance — but Sir George had the choice of the whole British Navy, both as to officers and ships, and he showed great judgment in it. But, above all, I pride myself in preserving the health of the crews of this fleet, and in maintaining the most exact discipline while surrounded by mutinous spirits

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among the lower orders, and factious discontents among a few of the higher. Happily, the force of example in those who have thought and acted right, has enabled this part of the naval force of the Country to perform services of which there is no parallel in the page of history. I have the honour to be, with the truest respect and esteem, your Ladyship's most obedient humble servant,

ST. VINCENT.

TO LIEUTENANT , REGT.

Le Souverain, Gibraltar, 3rd January, 1799.

SIR,

In consideration of the circumstances of your worthy father and his family, and of your having merited the approbation of your superiors in the field, I have (in violation of what is due to both Army and Navy in point of discipline and good government) importuned the Governor to overlook the wanton and unprovoked outrage you offered to Lieutenant Northey, Commander of the Gun-boats, in the orderly execution of his duty, and to release you from arrest on your performing what he may think fit to impose, for I am not competent to decide upon a matter of such grave and serious nature; but before I dismiss the subject I must inform you, that almost ever since I took the command of His Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, I have been acquainted with your irregular conduct, and the terms you have been on with the Officers of the —th regiment; I therefore exhort you to be more circumspect in your future conduct, or you will inevitably disgrace your family, and probably finish your career by an ignominious fate.

I am, &c. ST. VINCENT.

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TO EARL SPENCER.

Rosia House, Gibraltar, 21st January, 1799.

MY LORD,

The language of despondence which has obtained in this garrison during the last three years has tended lately to discourage all ranks of people; and the Spanish Gunboats having been held up as most formidable machines, it is not an easy matter to persuade any person to face them. Our inferiority is certainly very great, and we are, by the late event, reduced to three, while the enemy always has from twelve to twenty. I have also to observe, that there has been a great want of vigour and exertion in the Dockyard, which, I have the satisfaction to assure your Lordship, is completely done away, and we now think ourselves equal to anything. is an honest man, and sufficiently intelligent, but pompous, flowery, indolent, and wrapped up in official forms, stay-tape, and buckram: he has, however, corrected many gross and abominable abuses and peculations practised under his predecessors. There is still much to do.

The only use of Gibraltar is, to furnish the Navy of Great Britain with supplies, and thereby enable it to maintain the empire of the adjacent seas. I have the honour to be, with great regard and esteem, your Lordship's very faithful and obedient servant, ST. VINCENT.

TO EARL SPENCER.

January 23rd, 1799.

MY LORD,

I am sure your Lordship was not aware of the outrage offered to me, and the injustice done to Captain Newhouse, when you authorized a commission to be signed, appoint-

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ing Lieutenant Austin Commander of the Petterel; and I hope Rear-Admiral Gambier was unacquainted with the circumstances of the case. The fact is, that upon the dismissal of Captain Newhouse received an acting order to command the Thalia, until he could join the Petterel, for which sloop he had a commission from me, in an authorised vacancy; but he never was able to join her, until she came down from Minorca, when he took the command of her, and was despatched upon an important service, which he performed in a very officer-like manner; and the moment Lieutenant Long and the Officers and men, who were made prisoners and carried into Carthagena, arrived, an inquiry into their conduct was instituted, the result of which having proved honourable to them, the Lieutenants and Warrant Officers were re-appointed immediately. Your Lordship will, upon this recital, perceive the injury done to Captain Newhouse, and the humiliation heaped upon my head in the face of the fleet I have the honour to command, by this hasty measure; and I rely on the strict principles of justice which govern all your actions for reparation being made to Captain Newhouse; for, however hard the commission given by the Board to Lieutenant Austin bears upon me, I know my duty too well to withhold it for a moment. I have the honour, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Gibraltar, 29th January, 1799.

MY DEAR NEPEAN,

We are literally without a fathom of rope, yard of canvass, foot of oak or elm plank, board or log to saw them out of; we have not a bit of iron but what we draw out of condemned masts and yards, nor the smallest piece of fir plank, board or quarter stuff, but what they produce; and the last large stick was wrought into a topmast for the

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Thalia yesterday; add to this, that three-fourths of the ships under my command are so much out of repair and shaken, that, were they in England, no one would go to sea in them — and you will feel for your friend

ST. VINCENT.

FROM LORD NELSON.

March 2nd, getting under sail.

MY DEAR LORD

I am always happy when my conduct meets your approbation: and whilst I remain in the service my utmost exertion shall be called forth; but, although I own I have met with much more honour and rewards than even my most sanguine ideas led me to expect, yet I am so circumstanced that this Expedition will probably be the last service ever performed by your most obliged and affectionate friend, NELSON AND BRONTE.

TO SIR ANDREW HAMMOND,

Comptroller of the Navy.

Gibraltar, 2nd March, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR,

I wish to call your attention to the danger of sending ships in a state of decay, like the Prince George and Princess Royal, on a service which requires the soundest and tightest ships you have; for, although we can weather during the summer months at the anchorage before Cadiz, neither the force I have will admit of more than one ship going into port at a time, (without giving the enemy an advantage over us which no judicious Officer, however successful he may have been, will hazard;) nor have we the means of going far into the repairs of ships' bottoms.

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I suspect the Zealous to be a complaining ship, for her repair was not effectual, and as her commander * never turns his back upon service, let the state of his ship be what it may, it is proper I should look out for him.

Looking back at what has been achieved by the Mediterranean fleet, its long continuance at sea, late scantiness of means, except what has been derived from our own resources, perseverance, and exertion, with many cross-grained resisting characters to deal with, I am astonished that sixteen ships-of-the-line should now be before Cadiz, having maintained their position there all the winter, except the instances of being compelled to take shelter from tempestuous weather in Tetuan Bay, and the crews in such healthy state, that we now have not more than seventy men in the Hospital.

The blockades of Malta and Alexandria have kept pace with ours,—but this can not endure for ever, and I trust more consideration will be given in future to the exertion of this part of the Naval force of the Country. I am very nearly worn out, and must of necessity be relieved. My successor is an able man, and I am extremely solicitous that he should have justice done him, and not be left with crazy ships, totally unequal to another winter service.

Yours sincerely, ST. VINCENT.

Instead of 4,000 hammocks, expressed in the invoice, I hoped to have received 20,000! every man in the fleet requires a new one.

TO CAPTAIN BINGHAM.

Memorandum.

Souverain, Gibraltar, 2nd March, 1799.

It is my direction that you cause an Officer, with a party of Marines, to attend the funeral of a Spanish Officer from the Naval Hospital, to-morrow morning at 7 o'clock.

* Sir Samuel Hood.

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(Extract.)

TO HIS EXCELLENCY DON FR. DE GRAVINA.

H.M.S. Souverain, 4th March, 1799.

SIR,

Having heard with great concern that the health of Don Joseph de Mazzaredo has required his visiting certain baths for the recovery of it, I have the honour to acquaint you, in his absence, that Don Juan Coltello, who was mortally wounded in the gallant defence made by the Captain, Officers, and crew of the Catholic Majesty's Xebeque the Africa, died yesterday, and was interred this morning with military honours, all the British Sea-Officers here who could be spared from immediate duty having attended his funeral. It is with great pain that I have also to state the death of Don Juan d'Aquirre, who was wounded in the action, and that Don Joseph de Salcedo is ill of his wounds in the Naval Hospital, where he is skilfully treated, and receives every consolation in my power to bestow.

Too much cannot be said in commendation of these gallant men, who stood a conflict of twenty minutes after the Africa was boarded by the crew of His Britannic Majestys sloop l'Espoir, and did not surrender till they were desperately wounded, and unable to make further resistance. I therefore entreat of your Excellency to lay their meritorious conduct before the King of Spain, with my humble request that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to shew some mark of respect for the dead, and will reward the distinguished valour of the surviving brave Salcedo.

I have the honour to be, &c. ST. VINCENT.

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TO DON JOSEPH DE MAZZAREDO.

Gibraltar, 18th March, 1799.

SIR,

It is with great pleasure that I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that Don J. de Salcedo, being recovered of his wounds, is about to return to his native Country; and as a just tribute to his gallantry, I declare him free to serve, whenever His Royal Master may think proper to employ him. I have the honour to be, with great esteem,

ST. VINCENT.

TO LORD SPENCER.

Gibraltar, 21st March, 1799.

MY LORD,

I am honoured with your Lordship's letters of the 9th and 22nd January; and as it would have been the height of injustice to have placed an Officer of such uncommon merit as Captain Brown in a 12-pounder frigate, not much more than half manned, I have given him a commission for the Foudroyant, subject to a removal into the Vanguard, when Lord Nelson decides whether he will go to England, which he seems determined on, or continue in the Mediterranean.

The promotion to the Flag has happily removed a number of Officers from the command of ships-of-the-line, who at no period of their lives were capable of commanding them; and I am sorry to have occasion to observe, that the present state of the upper part of the list of Captains is not much better than it stood before.

I will obey your Lordship's commands touching Lieutenant James Dalrymple, who appears as if he were going

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into a dropsy, and I very much doubt whether he will be able to serve long in this climate, which is fatal to all who are in declining health.

The squadron has been again driven into Tetuan Bay, where it is anchored; and I am sending stores of every kind, of which it is in extreme want, and two transports loaded with water, for its supply. The great plenty of oranges, lemons, and poultry there is at Tetuan, where the Emperor has relaxed much of his rigid treatment, (there being no French or Spaniards to watch over the Alcalde,) will afford considerable refreshment; and when Vice-Admiral Lord Keith repasses the Straits, he is to send to Lagos Bay for cattle. Having sent so large a quantity of provisions to Minorca, for the supply of the garrison, and the squadrons under the orders of Lord Nelson and Rear-Admiral Duckworth, the Victualling Board cannot be too expeditious in forwarding another supply to this place, the Tagus being now totally out of the question.

I have the honour, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO EARL SPENCER.

Gibraltar, 25th March, 1799.

MY LORD,

The Penelope and Sandwich cutters shall be sent up to Lord Nelson, who has already under his orders a very large proportion of our frigates; so that, with what are necessary for Minorca, the north-west coast of Spain, and Portugal, I cannot give one to the squadron before Cadiz. I am not surprised at the pressing solicitation of the Marquis de Circello; for no reliance whatever can be placed on Neapolitan Officers, seamen, or soldiers; and the Island of Sicily can only be preserved by British ships and troops.

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I very much lament that Captain Boyle was prevented from coming out in the Hyena, by the unlucky accident he met with; because it would have given me very great pleasure to have pushed his fortunes—which, from the good order and discipline the Kangaroo appeared to be in, I am persuaded he merits. His new connexion with my old acquaintance Mr. Poyntz, and relative situation with respect to your Lordship, would also have prompted me to show him every mark of kindness.

The squadron assembled before Cadiz consists of sixteen sail-of-the-line. Lord Keith is in Tetuan Bay, with twelve, completely victualled and watered. The Foudroyant will sail in the morning to join him; the Hector, patched up in the best manner our means afford, will follow in a day or two; and the Namur the moment she is caulked and vamped up. The Defence is the only ship without the Straits; but Lord Keith will avail himself of the first spirt of easterly wind to resume his station.

Admiral Frederick is very ill, and I fear will not last long, so that your Lordship's arrangements in favour of Admiral Duckworth indent well. I have the honour, &c.

ST. VINCENT.

TO THE DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

Rosia House, Gibraltar, 20th March, 1799.

DEAR MADAM,

Although I am always happy in being honoured with your Grace's commands, knowing, as I do, the excellence of your heart, I am sure you will thank me for telling you that the recommendations of Officers newly come out to this station, for promotion, causes very great injustice to be done to a great number of Lieutenants who have distinguished themselves in the most arduous service under my

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command; for while the Captains and other Officers of His Majesty's ships, employed at home, are passing half the year, at least, ashore, and their ships laying idle in port, ours are undergoing constant and unremitting work, hitherto unknown in the annals of naval history; and instead of a deprivation of any part of the patronage incident to such unparalled service, such Officers ought to be rewarded tenfold. Forgive this sermon, and be assured I never will be unmindful of any friends of yours,—having the honour to be, with the truest respect and esteem, your Grace's devoted and obedient servant, ST. VINCENT.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT.

Purissima Concepcion, Cadiz, 25th March, 1799.

MY LORD,

Agreeably to what I had the honour of stating to your Excellency in my letter of the 8th instant, I forwarded to the King, my master, your letter respecting the glorious defence made by the Spanish Xebec, Africa, when captured by the British brig of war, L'Espoir. The Minister of Marine has, in reply, informed me, that His Majesty has commanded your letter to be circulated throughout all the departments, and has approved of my having already done so here, and in the squadron under my orders; and he has also made known to me the favours which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer on the commander of the Xebec in question, Don Joseph Salcedo, and on the rest of his ship's company, that gallant officer having been promoted to the rank of a Captain of a frigate in the Royal Navy, with a pension of four thousand reals. Having communicated the same to that Officer in the enclosed letter, I request your Excellency will be pleased to cause it to be delivered to him, as it will enhance its value by his receiving the intelligence through the same distinguished person

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whose generous act has obtained for him this public testimony of his heroic conduct. I beg to add the assurance of my high consideration for your Excellency. God preserve your Excellency many years! I remain, my Lord, your Excellency's very humble servant, JOSEPH DE MAZZAREDO.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Le Souverain, Gibraltar, 27th March, 1799.

SIR,

I have this instant received the enclosed letter from Sir , who, during a few weeks' residence at Gibraltar, while the Prince George was careening, did not express the smallest discontent, and appeared in better health than I have seen him for very many months; I therefore desire you will submit his application to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and request that I may receive their Lordships' orders thereupon, as I shall not again subject myself to reproof for sending a Flag-officer to England without their authority. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Gibraltar, 16th April, 1799.

MY DEAR NEPEAN,

The measure of relieving the Port-admirals was wise as far as it has gone. I sincerely hope the Parkers will be continued, because they are very good people, but you will have some clamour on the score of partiality; and Admiral Peyton certainly considers himself, and with truth, a more efficient Admiral than although not so practicable in other respects. I heartily hope will not have a seditious squadron, for he has no *fortiter in re*, although he abounds in the *suaviter*. I never

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in my life saw a man who shrank from the audacity of United Irishmen like him, or who so sacrificed discipline to the popularity of the moment. was a gallant man, but the most timid Officer, as it related to rocks, sands, shoals, and responsibility, imaginable. He had, however, the manner of a rough seaman, and talked it well enough to impose upon many of his brethren, — Admiral Barrington in particular, from whose opinion of him I became the dupe; not the only instance, by many, of my suffering from the same well-meant, though erroneous judgment. Sir Charles Grey will feel Lutwidge a blessing, after the continual blistering he has got from old but who, to do him justice, made all the sea-officers within his vortex do their duty.

I do not like the aspect of Ireland. Should the French make a landing in force, which they certainly may do, *malgré* the vigilance of your western squadron, the whole people will be in motion, and deal destruction wherever they go. The business of the Union must have been mismanaged, or I think it would have gone down. Judging at this distance, and with very little information, except a thorough conviction of the corrupt government of the Country, I see no other means of preserving it, and I consequently admire the energy with which the object is pursued. Our friend appears very wrong-headed in the part he has taken upon the subject of Ireland for some time past.

An unusually long westerly wind has deprived us of intelligence from the Levant, and we are in total ignorance touching Buonaparte, Troubridge, Ball, and, finally, of Nelson and General Stuart. I flatter myself that the latter arrived at Messina in time to save that important port, and I am sure everything that mortals can do will be achieved by Troubridge and Ball. Two good regiments of British infantry would have put the last-named in possession of Malta long ago.

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Frederick has come on shore for the benefit of his health, and appears to me in a galloping consumption. He wants to go to Cintra for the summer, and spurns at the advice of his medical attendants, who are of opinion he ought to go to England.

You have given no opinion, public or private, or rather no answer, to my interrogatory, whether I am to take my passage to England in the Ville de Paris, or to go like a convict, as I came out. I do not like to stir the question in a public letter, unless you feel yourself incompetent to give the answer, as matters now stand.

The Queen Charlotte will be better here than on home service, for she has been the root of all the evil you have been disturbed with. Yet it would have been better if she and the London had not served in the same squadron; not that I have a doubt of keeping them both in order, especially if Lord Keith removes to the Charlotte.

Your very sincere, ST. VINCENT.

TO CAPTAIN DIXON, H.M.S. LION.

Rosia House, Gibraltar, 1st May, 1799.

SIR,

I shall have great pleasure in giving you the command of a seventy-four gun ship when there is a vacancy, although I desire it may be understood that I do not cede this to a claim because younger Post-captains than yourself are in them, for I never will admit the principle of right in the senior Captains on the list to command ships of the first class, experience having taught me to know that it is fraught with the greatest injury to His Majesty's service. I am, Sir, very sincerely, your humble servant,

ST. VINCENT.

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TO DON JOSEPH DE MAZZAREDO.

Le Souverain, Gibraltar, 6th May, 1799.

SIR,

I am honoured with your Excellency's letter of the 3rd instant, and I do assure you it gives me great pain when an event occurs which puts it out of my power to show attention to any Officer of His Catholic Majesty who, by the fortune of war, is thrown into my hands: I cannot possibly admit that the custom of nations, at war with each other, justifies an Officer in wantonly throwing a casket of public money into the sea.

It was unnecessary to remind me of the liberal conduct of Don Louis de Cordova in 1782, it is the characteristic of the Spanish nation, and your Excellency having filled an important post on that memorable occasion, ensured generous treatment to the prisoners.

I have the honour to be, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO LORD SPENCER.

Rosia House, Gibraltar, 10th May, 1799.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship will be aware, that the moment I quit this bay, which I hope to do early in the morning, the coast, from the Tagus to Gibraltar, will have no protection, and this garrison be exposed to great distress for want of refreshments, until a powerful reinforcement is sent out to recover the dominion of this district under my command, which I must abandon in order to effect a junction with the ships-of-the-line stationed about Minorca, before any hostile operation takes place against that island, the more to be apprehended because the Brest squadron is six nights and five days before us. All I can say is, that every means

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shall be used to preserve it, and to counteract the enterprises of the enemy, wherever they may point. Having no information to guide my steps, nor means to trace the course of the Brest squadron, I must grope my way in the best manner I can.

Lord Keith has shown great manhood and ability before Cadiz, his position having been very critical, exposed to a hard gale of wind, blowing directly on the shore, with an enemy of superior force to windward of him, and twenty-two ships-of-the-line in the Bay of Cadiz, ready to profit by any disaster which might have befallen him. I have the honour to be, with the truest esteem and regard,

Your Lordship's, &c. ST. VINCENT.

TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Le Souverain, Gibraltar, 10th May, 1799.

SIR,

His Majesty's sloop, Childers, arrived at daylight on the 4th instant with the enclosed letters, &c. , and I did not lose a moment in sending off advices of the contents to Rear-Admirals Lord Nelson and Duckworth, and to Captain M'Dougal, of the Edgar, in Tetuan Bay, with directions to him to apprise Captain Moore, of the Vesuvius, lying in Tangier Bay, of the approach of the enemy's fleet, by express from Tetuan; and I sent directions to Vice-Admiral Lord Keith, in the event of his having an action, or a junction being formed with the Cadiz fleet without one, to make the best of his way hither; but the wind having continued to blow strong from the south-west, nothing could get through the Gut. The Cameleon arrived on the 5th, having passed through the French squadron eight or nine leagues to the westward of Cape Spartel, and at five o'clock in the same evening twenty-six ships were observed passing through the Straits

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into the Mediterranean, nineteen of which, at least, appeared to be of-the-line: the weather was so hazy with heavy rain that their force could not be ascertained with precision. I enclose an extract from the journal of Captain Stiles, by which their Lordships will perceive that the French squadron eluded the vigilance of Lord Keith by the darkness of the atmosphere, for the enemy was very near the position his Lordship had, on receiving intelligence of his approach, determined to take, when Captain Stiles found himself in such jeopardy. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, ST. VINCENT.

FROM LORD NELSON.

Palermo, June 10, 1799.

MY DEAR LORD,

We have a report that you are going home. This distresses us most exceedingly, and myself in particular, — so much so, that I have serious thoughts of returning, if that event should take place. But, for the sake of our Country, do not quit us at this serious moment! I wish not to detract from the merit of whoever may be your successor, but it must take a length of time, which I hope the war will not give, to be in any manner a St. Vincent. We look up to you, as we have always found you, as to our father, under whose fostering care we have been led to fame. If, my dear Lord, I have any weight in your friendship, let me entreat you to rouse the sleeping lion. Give not up a particle of your authority to any one: be again our St. Vincent, and we shall be happy! Your affectionate NELSON.

FROM LORD NELSON.

June 12th, 1799. Nine o'clock at night.

MY dear Lord, our St. Vincent! what have we suffered in hearing of your illness, and of your return to Ma-

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hon! Let me entreat you to come to us with a force fit to fight. We will search the French out, and if either in Leghorn, Espezia, or Naples, we will have at them; we shall have so much pleasure in fighting under the eye of our ever great and good Earl. If you are sick, I will fag for you, and our dear Lady Hamilton will nurse you with the most affectionate attention. Good Sir William will make you laugh with his wit and inexhaustible pleasantry. We all love you. Come then to your sincere friends. Let us get you well, it will be such a happiness to us all, — amongst the foremost, to your attached, faithful, and affectionate

NELSON.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD NELSON, K.B.

Port Mahon, 11th June, 1799.

MY DEAR LORD,

It is a most fortunate circumstance that you withheld the orders for the return of the Portuguese squadron to Lisbon, as you will perceive by the enclosed that the Prince of Brazil has directed the Marquis of Niza to continue to act with us until the fate of the Brest fleet is decided, which I hope soon to hear of, much lamenting that the rapid decline of my health has totally deprived me of the possibility of sharing in the glorious event, for I am, literally, incapable of any service.

I have transferred the command to Lord Keith, not deeming it for the public good, or just to his Lordship, to hold a trust which I cannot exercise in person: I shall, however, continue here until the arrival of the detachment from Lord Bridport.

Have the goodness to make my apologies to Sir William and Lady Hamilton for not answering their very kind letters, not being able to do more than assure them and your Lordship of my sincere regard and affection.

Yours most truly, ST. VINCENT.

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TO EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ.

Ville de Paris, Port Mahon, 15th June, 1799.

SIR,

At a moment so eventful, it is with inexpressible regret I acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the rapid decline of my health compels me to avail myself of their Lordships' conditional permission to return to England; for to continue at this place without a prospect of being soon able to conduct the fleet at sea, would cramp the operations, and prove very injurious to His Majesty's service; I have, therefore, transferred the command to Vice-Admiral Lord Keith, with their Lordships' secret instructions, and other unexecuted orders relative thereto; and at the arrival of the detachment from Lord Bridport's fleet, and the necessary orders being given for its conduct in the defence of this island during the absence of Lord Keith, it is my intention to proceed to Gibraltar in His Majesty's ship the Argo, and to wait there the arrival of the Ville de Paris, or Princess Royal, to convey me to England. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, ST. VINCENT.

TO EARL SPENCER.

Port Mahon, 16th June, 1799.

MY LORD,

I am honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 4th, 6th, and 15th of May, and feel very sensibly the credit you are pleased to give to my exertions, which, unhappily, are sapped to the very foundation by such a rapid decline of health as to bereave me of all power both of body and mind; and perceiving that a longer continuance in the command would be injurious to His Majesty's service, and

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unjust to Lord Keith, I determined to put him in immediate possession of it, in order to give full scope to his exertions, which I am sure will not disappoint the expectations of his most sanguine friends. I gave Captain Grey a dormant appointment of Adjutant-General to the Fleet, under which he has acted, to a certain degree, so as not to give offence to the senior Captains; and Captain Bathurst has continued in the command of the Ville de Paris, and will either bring her, or the Princess Royal, down to Gibraltar when the service permits, to convey me to England, should I recover. In the state I am, Captain Grey is essentially necessary to my comfort, and I hope your Lordship will approve of his accompanying me.

The Brest squadron had such a game to play at Malta and Sicily, that I trembled for the fate of our ships employed there, and for the latter island: your Lordship made a better judgment by fixing their operations to the coast of Genoa.

Than Rear-Admiral Whitshed, no Officer could have been more acceptable to me; he fully merits the good opinion you have formed of him. Your Lordship's recommendation of Lieutenant Richards would have been strictly attended to had I continued in command.

I suffer so much in writing that I must close by requesting your Lordship will excuse the incorrectness of this letter; and assuring you of the respect with which I have the honour to be, your Lordship's very faithful and obedient servant, St. VINCENT.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 69, line 11, *for* semicolon, *insert* comma.
70 „ 2, *after* and, *insert* now.
70 „ 20, *for* entered, *read* returned.
119 „ 14, *for* turn-up, *read* turned-up.
125 „ 9 from the bottom (note), *for* of, *read* to.
126 „ 13, *after* handful, *dele* of.
128 „ 29, *for* Grand Terre, *read* Grande Terre.
150 „ 13, *for* Trowbridge, *read* Troubridge.
188 „ 26, *for* Alguasiris, *read* Alguasiras.

VOL. II.

Page 131, line 2 from bottom,
for and, afterwards, his retreat, *read* and after his retreat.

Autograph of Earl St. Vincent, Frontispiece vol. ii.
„ „ Lord Nelson to face page 249 „

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